Twin Cities
MAY DAY MEETING
Speaker:
JAMES P. CANNON
See details page 6

THE MILITANT

Formerly the SOCIALIST APPEAL

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

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ALL UNIONS CONDEMN VINSON BILL

Fascism Will Be Smashed--By A Workers-Farmers Government

May Day Manifesto Of The Socialist Wokers Party

This May 1st is the 55th that class-conscious workers of the United States will celebrate as the day dedicated to the working class. The place of honor this May Day belongs to the Ford and Bethlehem strikers and to those loyal veterans, the coal miners. Hundreds of thousands, indeed millions of workers, have recently joined the organized working class. Despite their inexperience they have successfully stormed Bastilles hitherto impregnable to unionization. Despite all the "national defense" pressure of the capitalists and the political agents of capitalism, these new recruits have firmly fought on for labor's rights. These new evidences of the inexhaustible power and militancy of the working class give us new hope for the future. Harnessed to the correct program, that power can conquer and transform the world.

And transformation of the world is the task to which the working class must dedicate itself this May Day. The world that our capitalist masters have molded will destroy us all if it is permitted to continue. For the second time in a generation the ruling classes have precipitated World War. This war is a continuation of the last, fought like the last for the re-division of the earth among the grasping imperialists.

The ruling class of the United States is not at all interested in fighting a war against fascism. When the Nazi monster seized control of Germany in 1933, it was with the approval of both Washington and London, which considered Hitler the embodiment of 'law and order' against the 'anarchy' of a German proletarian revolution. Washington and London helped the Nazi monster to grow and arm itself: they considered it a bulwark against the Soviet Union and proletarian revolution in Europe. Only when German imperialism grew to the point of becoming a threat to the imperialist interests of the American and British ruling classes did the latter become piously indignant about fascism.

They lie who tell the workers that democracy versus dictatorship is the issue between Churchill and Hitler in Europe. The Greek dictatorship of Metaxas permitted as few democratic rights to the masses as the Italian dictatorship of Mussolini. The Yugoslav despotism was no more tolerable than that of Hungary or Bulgaria. We have seen how easily, as if changing a shirt, Petain and the other French "democrats" became dictators overnight.

They lie who tell the workers that democracy versus dictatorship is the issue between Germany and Britain in Africa and Asia. Ask the enslaved hundreds of millions who suffer in the colonies of British "democracy"! The "war for democracy" has brought even worse oppression to the 375 millions of India who are in the war by Britain's decree but against their will. Try to tell the black masses of Africa that they must fight against the Nuremburg racial laws—they who have lived under the same kind of racial laws for as long as Britain has ruled over them.

You want them to fight against fascism, including Hitler fascism? The peoples of Asia and Africa will do so gladly—just as soon as they have torn from their necks the yoke of British oppression.

Not the least of the reasons for emphasizing Britain's reactionary role is that everyone who understands what is happening takes it for granted that the United States will, if successful in this war, fall heir to most of the power of the British Empire. Is that what America's young workers shall die for? That American, instead of British policemen and soldiers, shall beat and maim and kill fighters for freedom in India and West Africa? Yes, that is the concrete reality that lies behind Roosevelts's glittering words.

And after the war? What can we expect then, if as a result of the last war for "democracy" the toilers of America reaped only the "right" to two and a half decades of increasing impoverishment, unemployment and insecurity? At the end of the last war for democracy half the countries of Europe succumbed to dictatorships. How many at the end of this war, no matter whether Hitler or Churchill wins?

This war is not our war, any more than the war of 1917 was the workers' war. This one is conducted under the same slogans, with the same ruling classes at the helm. Under those rulers we shall gain as little in this war as in the last.

We Trotskyists, like the workers everywhere, are infinitely more interested in destroying fascism than is Roosevelt or Churchill. *We* never praised Hitler as Churchill did and as many an associate of Roosevelt did! We were fighting the fascist menace during years when Washington and London were wooing Hitler. Tomorrow London may decide on a negotiated peace with Hitler. The capitalists of Britain and the United States can make their peace with fascism, just as did the capitalists of Germany whom Hitler serves. But between the workers and fascism, there can never be peace.

The spectacle of the French capitalists collaborating with Hitler is a final warning to us. No capitalist class can be depended upon in the struggle against fascism.

The workers must take charge of the struggle against fascism, and cannot delegate that task to any Roosevelt or Churchill. Only if the workers are in full control, can there be a guarantee against the betrayals that were perpetrated by the bourgeoisie in Spain, France, Norway.

How shall the workers move toward taking charge? By increasing the power of the workers' organizations until they can wrest all power from the bourgeoisie.

That is why the workers are profoundly correct in striking against the bosses despite all the "national defense" ballyhoo. Our only criticism is that the insufficient program under which the strikes are carried on renders the strikes less effective than they can be.

No union fig-leaves for government strikebreaking—demand that trade union officials resign from all appointive posts in the government. Organize the picket lines for all-out militant defense against the thuggery of company hoodlums and government cops.

Demand the unification of the AFL and CIO on the basis of preserving and extending the industrial form of organization.

End company unionism in politics—build an Independent Labor Party.

Ten out of eleven of the men in the "national defense" forces are the workers in the war industries, owned by fascist-minded Fords and Graces. Expropriate the war industries and operate them under workers' control!

These are some of the demands that the workers must raise.

But if the workers are to take charge of the fight against fascism they must prepare militarily to defend themselves against the fascists everywhere. We are no pacifists, whether of the "sincere" Norman Thomas variety or the Stalinist variety in the service of the Kremlin's foreign policy.

That is why we call upon the workers to demand:

Military training of workers, financed by the government, under control of the trade unions!

The establishment of special officers' training camps, financed by the government and controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers!

Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces—down with Jim Crowism!

Yes, we want the workers to become expert in all the military arts. We don't want the bourgeois officer-caste to have life-and-death control over the men, any more than we want the boss to have that in the factory. If the workers must fight, then they shall fight under the leadership of men whom they can trust—their own fellow-workers, chosen by them as their officers.

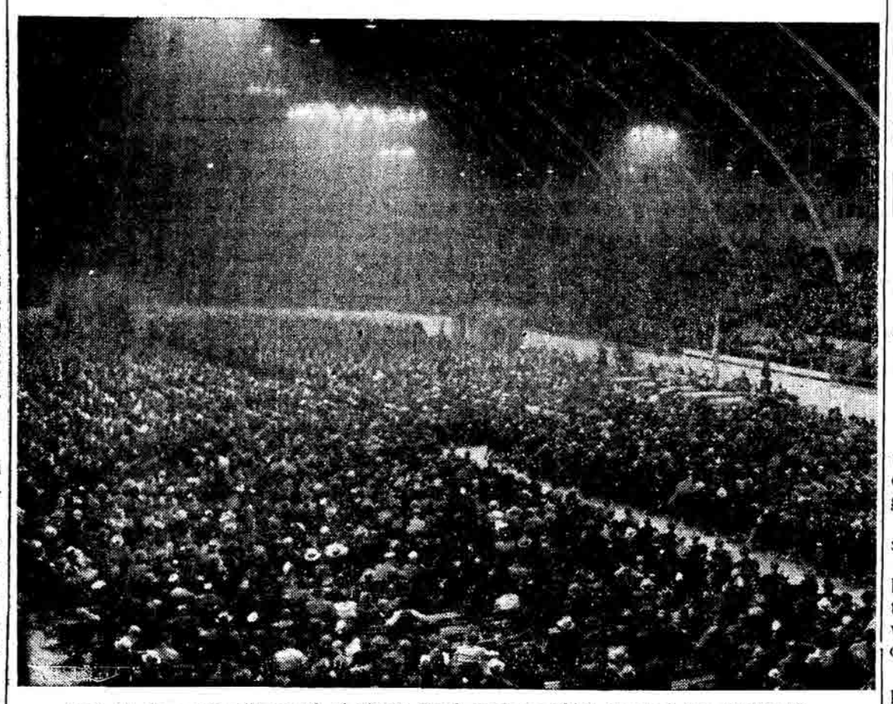
Carry out these steps, crown them with the formation of a Workers and Farmers Government—and the real war against fascism can be waged to a successful and speedy conclusion.

Against a Workers and Farmers Government in the United States, Hitler would soon be rendered powerless. His weapons would be of no avail against revolutionary war. He would no longer be able to frighten the German people with the spectre of another Versailles—for the American workers could then guarantee that there would be no second Versailles oppression. He could no longer demagogically pretend that he was fighting "international capitalism," and would stand revealed for what he is—agent of German capitalism.

All the oppressed peoples of Asia and Africa, now conceded their independence and freedom, would join the American workers to destroy fascism. Hitler and Mussolini would fall—toppled by the German and Italian workers, now assured of the international solidarity of the workers of the world.

This is the road to wipe out fascism forever—through a Workers and Farmers Government. And it is the only road. Workers, on this May Day pledge yourselves to follow this road!

30,000 Ford Workers Meet



Part of the mammoth crowd of 30,000 Ford workers which jammed the UAW-CIO mass meeting on April 10 at the Detroit Fair Grounds to ratify the settlement of the Ford Motor Company strike. Thirty thousand reasons why Ford backed down!

General Motors Strike Vote Starts Monday

GM Workers Are Determined To Win Wage Raises, Union Shop; Are Inspired by Ford Strike, Raises In Steel, Coal, Cloth ing

FLINT—Representatives of the International Executive Board of the UAW-CIO, forced to take a firm position by the adamant attitude of the General Motors corporation, and by the insistent demands of the union rank and file for improved conditions, called upon all GM locals to take a strike vote beginning Monday, April 28. The announcement met with enthusiastic cheers of an audience of 7,000 workers in a mass meeting at the IMA auditorium here today.

The GM locals had voiced their demands at a delegated conference held February 8, 9, and 10 at which a proposed contract was approved providing for several improved points: among them a ten-cent hourly wage increase, a shop steward system, a union shop, 80-hour vacation with pay instead of the 40 hours now prevailing, a 60 day seniority clause for new workers instead of the six-month clause before seniority is acquired, and a $25 week wage to all GM workers conscripted into the armed forces.

RECORD OF NEGOTIATIONS

On February 20th these demands were presented by the union to the GM corporation. According to Walter Reuther, GM Director for the UAW-CIO, negotiations have been held for the past six weeks with practically no results.

The corporation has given a flat NO to the union shop demand, has refused the steward system, and has refused to give an answer on wage increases, Reuther reported.

WORKERS ARE FIRM

The mass meeting in Flint demonstrated beyond doubt the determination and solidarity of the GM workers behind their demands.

Referring to the proposed 30 day cooling off period, the speakers pointed out that the Ford workers had "cooled off" for three years and then had to strike . . . and that the GM workers had been "cooling-off" for six weeks, and were now ready to turn the heat on.

COMPANY'S HUGE PROFITS

Many excellent facts were offered by Reuther, Addes and Thomas, proving that GM could afford to accede to the union's demands.

It was pointed out that the Du Pont family alone reaped dividends last year on their common shares of $37,500,000 — the equivalent of $4,600 per hour, on a 50-week, 40 hour-week basis. The ten-cent hourly wage increase could be paid for out of the Du Pont's GM profits alone.

Addes further pointed out that for every dollar paid a worker in wages, GM reaped 65 cents in profit. The ten-cent increase would still leave the company 55 cents an hour to store in the bank and to distribute to the coupon clippers.

INSPIRED BY STRIKE GAINS

The greatest indication as to the new militancy of the GM workers, was shown when reports were made of the wage increases in the coal, steel and clothing industries. These gains by the CIO have inspired the GM workers. The Ford strike served to give

(Continued on Page 3)

ON THE WAR FRONTS

by GEORGE STERN

The Battle of the Balkans is drawing steadily toward its appointed end—a new Dunkerque for the British on the shores of the Aegean. The hasty move of British forces into Irak shows that the British have already discounted the defection of Turkey. Britain's Suez "lifeline" will be defended in Western Egypt and at Turkey's frontier.

Meanwhile whatever developments were planned by the Axis strategists to follow upon the conclusion of the Soviet-Japanese pact are evidently awaiting the further course of the Mediterranean campaign. The week that has passed since the pact was signed in Moscow has been marked chiefly by the confirmation in Moscow that the pact accorded with the Axis strategy dictated by Adolf Hitler.

Pravda, Stalin's newspaper mouthpiece, made it plain on April 19 that the pact was to be regarded as a blow at Britain and the United States by virtue of the new "solid foundation for development of friendly relations between the two states"—the Soviet Union and Japan.

From Chungking came reports that the Kremlin had "assured" the Chinese that aid to China would continue as before—i.e., in the same slow trickle. The well-informed N. Y. TIMES correspondent said that the Chinese Stalinists were "stunned" by the pact and refused to believe it could possibly mean any change in their own anti-Japanese policy. The United Press quoted a Chinese Stalinist spokesman as saying that his party's aim was still the reconquest of Manchuria, where the Kremlin has given recognition to Japan's "special position."

But whatever is done to cover up the fact that Stalin has struck a deal with the imperialist invaders of China, the damage is effectively done.

Anti-Strike, Open-Shop Bill Blasted By CIO, AFL

Main Danger Now Is Maneuver By FDR To Provide 'Compromise'

Both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organization have gone on record expressing complete opposition to the anti-strike, open-shop Vinson Bill.

AFL President William Green last Monday added his protest to that voiced the week previously by Philip Murray, head of the CIO.

The bill is expected to be reported out of the Rules Committee and on the floor of the House by this week-end.

The House Naval Affairs Committee last week approved the anti-strike, open-shop Vinson Bill and rushed it to the floor of Congress following a two day "hearing" at which but one CIO spokesman was permitted, and he was given only one hour to testify against the bill.

The only other "witness" to appear before the committee was Secretary of the Navy Knox, who had a day and a half to expand on his endorsement of the "cooling off" principle involved in the bill.

The Vinson measure would impose a compulsory 25 day "cooling off" period before a union could take action on a strike vote. In addition, it proposes to "freeze" wages and open-shop conditions in all plants and industries directly or indirectly engaged in war production.

ROOSEVELT'S GAME

Representative Vinson, Georgia poll-tax Democrat introduced the bill. His closeness to the administration is indicated by the fact that he occupies the key post of chairman of the powerful Naval Affairs Committee. Roosevelt can halt action on this bill any time he cares to nod his head.

The administration is simply playing the old game of "hard cop-soft cop" with organized labor, using the threat of drastic curbs, represented in the Vinson bill, as a club over labor's head to force acceptance of some form of "voluntary" cooling off period before strikes. As Knox, Stimson and other administration spokesmen have indicated, Roosevelt does not care to risk the onus of compulsion unless it is "necessary."

"LAST RESORT" THREAT

Secretary of War Stimson expressed the "soft cop" attitude of the administration in a letter to Chairman Thomas of the Senate Labor Committee, made public last week, in which Stimson stated that the War Department "is loath to recommend restrictive legislation concerning labor relations *as long as there is hope that other methods of preventing interruption to production will prove effective.*"

However, when "other methods," such as the intervention of the National Mediation Board, pressure upon conservative and timid union officials and the extension of the OPM "formula" for settling strikes without wage in-

(Continued on page 4)

WORKERS' FORUM

Write to us—tell us what's going on in your part of the labor movement—what are the workers thinking about?—tell us what the bosses are up to—and the G-men and the local cops—and the Stalinists—send us that story the capitalist press didn't print and that story they buried or distorted—our pages are open to you. Letters must carry name and address, but indicate if you do not want your name printed.

Soldiers Forbidden To Write Letters To Congressmen

EDITOR:

There were a number of soldiers here who started writing personal letters to the President and their Congressmen, protesting against some of the things they didn't like in the army setup.

One day the officers assembled the whole company and gave us a warning that this practice must be stopped. They said it was a court-martial offense to write letters to your Congressmen or to the President.

So far as I know, however, no one has yet been prosecuted for this offense. I think, though, that the mere threat was enough to stop this practice. A fellow sleeping next to me had been writing such letters but I didn't know it till they gave this warning. He had never said anything about it to anyone.

Camp X— WORKER SOLDIER

* * *

The army's court-martial system is bad enough, but it says nothing against writing letters to Congressmen or to the President. No one, to our knowledge, has ever been court-martialled for it, nor could he be under the military law. Of course, on this score as on many others, an officer out to "get" a man would find another pretext if he wanted one; for, as Michael Cort has pointed out (in his important article, "The Court Martial System In the U. S. Army," March, 1941, FOURTH INTERNATIONAL magazine), the whole system lends itself to officers wreaking vengeance on the lower ranks.—EDITORS.

Protests Inference That Any Seamen Are Fascists

EDITOR:

The article "THE SEAMEN FACE REGIMENTATION" in the April 12th issue of THE MILITANT was a clear and correct analysis of the present situation in the maritime unions.

I disagree however, with the inference in the article that the seamen's unions are menaced by, if not infested with, Nazi and fascist agents and sympathizers among their memberships.

I think it is apparent that such elements are to be found among the Fords, Girdlers, Mellons, Du-Ponts, Weirs, etc. and their organizations rather than among the relatively advanced workers who form the membership of the trade unions.

The writer has been an active seaman for many years, his sea-service pre-dating the inception of fascism and Nazism in this country, and in all those years he has encountered only two members of seamen's unions who might be described as Nazi sympathizers. These men were both German immigrants. However, I can state with certainty that there are no Nazi or Fascist "cells" or undercover organizations in the seamen's unions.

I do not question the necessity of the rank and file of the seamen cleaning out such elements in their ranks *if they exist*.

However, it is ill advised for a workingclass paper to make the unfounded inference that they do exist in the seamen's unions.

Since the bourgeoisie and their press and government agencies are preparing to get maritime labor bound and gagged under cover of a hue and cry against "communists" and "Nazis and Fascists" in the union ranks, I believe that the reference in THE MILITANT article to Nazis and Fascists in the seamen's unions more or less plays into the bosses' hands.

JAMES BENNETT

Our Answer

Brother Bennett is mistaken: the article in question did not intend to imply that there are fascists among the organized seamen. The point made by the article was that, IF there were such fascists, the task of ridding the union of them would be one for the workers and should not provide a pretext for governmental interference in the union. —EDITORS.

A MAY DAY FULL OF PROMISE

It's May First again and not for many a year has the American working class inspired us with as much hope for the future as today. Labor is on the march, closing its million-columned ranks and consolidating its fighting organizations.

To the Socialist Workers Party and its press, THE MILITANT and the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL this May Day is rich with promise. With every mail come letters of appreciation for the quality of our publications.

Subscriptions, both new and renewals, have continued to come with every mail and those who have delayed with their renewals make frantic demands for the issues they have missed. Frequent requests for sample copies keep our mailing department busy with wrapping paper and paste all week.

If any sign is needed of the virility and spirit of our party membership it can be seen in the flood of increased orders for bundles of this May Day issue of THE MILITANT. From every industrial center in the country have come—by straight mail, airmail and telegram—requests that we double the regular number of bundles of papers so that the workers engaged in militant trade union activity can have our literature on their holiday.

A STORY TOLD BY A 'MILITANT' SALESMAN

We cannot resist the impulse to let the rest of the country in on the following little anecdote written down for us by one of the women comrades in New York who sold THE MILITANT before the doors of the Transport Workers Union hall the other day. She says:

"While selling THE MILITANT in front of the Transport Workers' building I had the good fortune to meet an officer of the Third Avenue lines division of the union. When I handed the paper to him he looked at it and said, 'This is the only paper that a working man can believe in.' As he bought the paper I inquired if he would be interested in our May First mass meeting. He was delighted at the opportunity to come and promptly bought a ticket.

"As we were engaged in conversation we were accosted by a burly Irishman who began to abuse me in a loud voice. I stood my ground and answered his noisy accusations. This disturbance brought me several bus and trolley drivers who listened with much attention, while the man who had bought the May Day ticket stood staunchly behind me and defended my right to sell the paper.

"P.S.: After the big argument, another of the bus drivers bought me a soda-pop."

Negro Picket Line Wins Jobs On N. Y. Bus Lines

Contract Signed By Company, Negroes And Union on Jobs

NEW YORK, April 20—The picket lines of the United Negro Bus Strike Committee yesterday succeeded in gaining a contract from the Fifth Avenue Bus Co. and the New York City Omnibus Corporation to hire a minimum of 100 colored bus drivers, 70 colored maintenance men, and eventually a total of 17 per cent of the company's employes will be colored.

The contract was also signed by Michael Quill and Austin Hogan of the Transport Workers Union. The company agreed to hire the additional colored workers before hiring any other new employees.

At the close of the recent 11-day strike of the bus workers, a movement was started in Harlem to do something about getting Negroes jobs as chauffeurs and mechanics on the bus lines. The United Negro Bus Strike Committee was formed and at a mass meeting in the Abyssinian Baptist church attended by more than 1,000 Harlemites, it was enthusiastically decided to boycott and picket the bus lines at all Harlem bus stops.

MILITANT METHODS WIN

The campaign was carried on in militant fashion. The bus companies admitted a daily loss from the campaign of $3,000.

Before any colored bus drivers are hired, 94 white workers whose seniority rights are recognized by the TWU will be put to work first. The maintenance men are to be hired immediately. The Rev. A. C. Powell, chairman of the Harlem committee, stated that within two months, Negroes will be manning the wheels of buses throughout New York City. A huge open air victory mass meeting is being planned for Colonial Park, 145th St. and Bradhurst Avenue, Saturday April 26 at 4 P.M.

May Issue Of 'Fourth Int'l' Out This Week

The May issue of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL magazine will be off the press this week, featuring several outstanding articles.

Natalia Sedov Trotsky has written the story of the terrible day on which Stalin's GPU murdered Leon Trotsky: *"How It Happened."*

The upsurge of the American labor movement is comprehensively dealt with in two articles. One, by the editors, "Labor On the March: 1941," analyses the recent strikes. The other, by William F. Warde, "The Mobilization of American Labor: 1929-1940," provides the background for understanding the present strike struggles.

Leon Trotsky is represented by one of his most illuminating theoretical pieces: "The Curve of Capitalist Development," written in 1923, but equally pertinent today. The stenogram of a discussion with Trotsky on the problem of building a revolutionary party, is also published.

Other articles in this month's issue are: "The Permanent Revolution," by Jack Weber; a thesis by the Executive Committee of the Fourth International on the workers' tasks in China's struggle for independence; an editorial on the Soviet-Japanese pact; and an article, by Vladimir Ivlev, on the economic crisis in the Soviet Union.

Good Horse-Sense

Even the horses which haul scrap for the Buffalo Steel Co. refuse to scab the strike at the company's plant and, instead, march on the picket line with the members of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) who walked out for a wage increase.

Local 302 Opens Contracts Talks

Cafeteria Workers' Negotiators Are Under Instructions From Membership On Wages

An elected contract committee of 14, plus the three major officers of Local 302, Cafeteria Employees Union, had their first conference last week with the Affiliated Restaurateurs, Inc., the association representing the majority of bosses employing 5,000 workers.

The contract delegation had been carefully instructed by the membership meeting on April 10 as far as wage demands were concerned.

The following are the major wage demands: All miscellaneous workers are to receive a minimum $2 increase, raising their wage to $18 minimum per week. Kitchen men are to receive new minimums of $21. Countergirls must receive a $2 minimum increase, raising their wage to $20. The scale for chefs must be raised to $50 minimum. Countermen are to receive new minimums with an increase of from $2 to $5 for the various stations, a $32 minimum for night countermen and a $30 minimum for all countermen in chain stores, many of whom are now receiving as low as $22 and $23 per week.

All these wage scales to be paid for eight hours work with a six day week, except in the case of countergirls who must receive a seven hour day instead of the present eight hour day.

OTHER DEMANDS

The union membership is very much concerned to secure the above wage demands. However, the question of wages is not the only issue in the present fight with the bosses.

There is also the question of the infamous Arbitration and Adjustment Board, the boss-stooging arbitrator for disputes between the union and the bosses. The Adjustment Board is hated by the workers, and rightfully so. Thousands of workers, directly and indirectly have felt its sharp, boss-inspired lash. The Board has handcuffed the hands of the union and maintained a stranglehold on the throats of the workers. Everybody hates it except certain clique elements that installed it in collaboration with the bosses.

UNION REFERENDUM PROMISED

The program of the recently-elected United Union Administration pledged as part of its united program the holding of a referendum on the question of the abolition of the Adjustment Board. To date no such referendum has been held. Certain clique elements have given no indication of their desire to fulfill this program pledge. On the contrary, they have indicated quite strongly that they intend to renege on this pledge.

It has become quite obvious that these clique elements don't wish to be bound by decisions of the membership in their dealings with the Affiliated Restaurateurs, Inc. on the question of the Arbitration Board.

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Two Chilean Parties Unite On 4th Int'l Program

Congress Will Launch United Party In June

SANTIAGO, Chile (By Mail)—A great step forward for the Fourth International is the Congress, to be held the first week in June, unifying in one organization the Revolutionary Workers Party and the Internationalist Workers Party.

The two parties are uniting as the Chilean section of the Fourth International, on the basis of acceptance of the resolutions of the (1938) Founding Congress of the Fourth International.

The Internationalist Workers Party was formed over a year ago by the proletarian left wing of the Socialist Party, which was expelled from that reformist organization because of the left wing's struggle against the Peoples Front policy. In developing a consistent class-struggle policy this left wing found its way to a thoroughgoing Trotskyist program.

The Revolutionary Workers Party had been, up to that time, the Trotskyist organization in Chile.

Unification makes the Chilean Trotskyists the strongest Fourth International movement in South America.

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Stalinists Show Their Teeth In Their Phoney "United" May Day Committee

Brazenly Refuse To Permit Trotskyists To Participate In May Day Parade

NEW YORK CITY, April 19.—The Stalinist-controlled "United May Day Committee," which met today at Webster Hall, 119 East 11th St., ostensibly on the basis of an invitation to "all working class organizations" to join in preparations for a "united" May Day parade, showed its real colors when it barred the Socialist Workers Party from participation in the parade.

The delegation from the Socialist Workers Party was denied the floor and two union delegates who protested the dictatorial action of the committee were ruled "out of order."

At the same time a delegation from the Communist Party was seated with full rights as the "only political party which sent a delegate!"

The meeting began with about two-thirds the number that were present at the first meeting of this committee on March 28. Harry Weinstock, who gave the organizational report, listing the unions participating, admitted that some of the unions represented at the March 28 meeting had since withdrawn their delegates.

He did not specify what unions these were or why they withdrew, but declared that their loss was more than compensated for by the addition of new organizations, presumably the Communist Party and its various fronts.

When Arthur Burch, delegate of the Socialist Workers Party, asked the chairman what had been done to include all political parties of the working class in the parade, the chairman responded: "We don't have time to answer any questions. Time is growing short. We must get on."

CRUDE HATCHET JOB

The Socialist Workers Party had sent delegates to the first meeting of the United May Day Committee on March 28 to propose (1) that all political parties of the working class be invited to participate in the May Day parade in order to show a united front against the bosses on this historic occasion — probably the last May Day before the United States is sucked into World War II and (2) to propose that certain slogans be added to the official list; such as, Down with the Imperialist War! Defend the Soviet Union! Trade Union Control of Military Training! Build an Independent Labor Party! etc.

At that time the credentials committee refused to seat the Trotskyist delegation on the grounds that "no political parties had been invited." The delegates were invited to remain as "observers."

The credentials committee this time reported that every organization which had sent delegates, including the Communist Party, had been accepted with one exception: the Socialist Workers Party. The chairman asked that the Socialist Workers Party be "rejected" by today's meeting on the ground that "this organization has not worked for the ideals of the United May Day Committee."

When Arthur Burch, the Trotskyist delegate, asked the chairman for "two minutes" to defend his party, he was ruled "out of order."

"But you seated the Communist Party . . . " began Comrade Burch.

The chairman shouted through the microphone: "I declare you out of order! Sit down! All those in favor of rejecting the Socialist Workers — I mean of accepting the report of the credentials committee, say Aye!"

"Aye!" chorused the Stalinist-dominated audience.

Several delegates protested. One delegate, representing Local 430 of the United Electrical Workers union tried to take the floor:

"Out of order!" bellowed the chairman through the microphone.

"I appeal the decision of the chair," responded the delegate, Joe Daim.

"It's useless . . . I mean, if you want to appeal, you can, but the matter's finished."

Daim stood his ground. "I appeal the decision of the chair."

Another member of the committee took the microphone. "All those in favor of upholding the decision of the chair say, Aye."

"Aye," responded the audience, but not so heartily as on the previous resolution.

Another delegate, who did not mention what union he represented stood up and said: "I agree with the views of the body here, but I feel that since we've started out to make this a united May Day parade, the delegate from the Socialist Workers Party should at least be allowed a few minutes to give his side before condemnation."

"Out of order! Out of order!" repeated the chairman, waving down another delegate asking for the floor. "The matter has already been decided. A motion to adjourn is in order."

The motion to adjourn carried by the majority immediately standing up and milling toward the door.

Crude—but the dirty job had to be done at whatever cost — Thirteenth Street had ordered it. Even if the "United" parade was thereby revealed as a Stalinist affair, the Trotskyists must not be permitted to march.

Closing Sessions

The MARXIST SCHOOL

Lectures for Sessions—Week of April 28th

MONDAY

7:10 to 8:40 p.m ..... by William M. Warde
The Coming American Revolution.

8:50 to 10:20 p.m. ..... by Lydia Beidel
General Trade Union Principles.

WEDNESDAY

7:10 to 8:40 p.m. ..... by Jack Weber
Imperialist War and the Class Struggle: The Workers and the War.

8:50 to 10:20 p.m. ..... by Farrell Dobbs
Machine Control—The Boss Mechanism for Sterilizing Organized Labor.

IRVING PLAZA
Irving Place and 16th St.

Clashes In Ford Plant

AFL Leaders Help Ford In Union-Busting Campaign

Ford Again Tries To Break Union By Race Riot

FLINT, Mich., April 20—Michael Widman, Director of the CIO's Ford organizing campaign, revealed in a speech here today that, though the smoke of battle has cleared at the gates of Ford's River Rouge empire, inside the plants the 80,000 workers are faced again with the brutality of Ford's "Service Department" and paid provocateurs.

Widman told the story at the mass meeting of General Motors workers in Flint, called in preparation for a strike vote.

The AFL top leadership, which has served as strikebreakers in the International Harvester, Allis-Chalmers and Ford strikes, is now attempting, Widman reported, to organize Negro workers in the Foundry at Ford's into an AFL "union" and to pit them in a race riot against white CIO members.

The service department, with the help of the AFL leaders, has intimidated a section of the Negro workers in the plant, a small but important minority, into making physical attacks on CIO workers. This renewed attempt to provoke a race riot, this time inside the plants, is the most serious problem facing the UAW in its present position at Ford.

The majority of the Negro workers at Ford are side by side with the white workers, in the ranks of the UAW-CIO. Most of them understand the hypocritical attempt of the Ford management and their AFL agents to separate them from the CIO.

It is easy to see through the AFL campaign as company-inspired. The Negro workers were spurned for years by many AFL unions, and above all by Green and the AFL Executive Council. It was not until the CIO appeared on the scene, organizing the industrial masses of this country, that the Negroes secured in the CIO the opportunity to show what courageous union fighters they are if given a chance.

John Murphy, who heads the AFL Ford drive, himself is a representative of the Bricklayers Union, which in most places follows a Jim Crow policy. And now this Pinkerton in AFL disguise poses as the Negroes' friend!

COMPANY PROVOKES FIGHT

The company campaign of provocation came to a head last Friday, when telegrams were sent to Negro workers in the Foundry informing them that the CIO was going to try to throw them out of the plant. This fooled some of the Negro workers, who came to work armed and attacked CIO members.

After provoking the trouble himself, Harry Bennett called upon the state to send in state troopers. This was done, and troopers are now patrolling both the inside and outside of the plant. Attempts by union men to gather in groups outside the plant have shown that the state police is not the union's friend. They broke up all groups and did not allow union men to discuss or gather.

So aroused did union men in Detroit become upon hearing of Ford's campaign of terror and provocation, that one union man and several stewards drove a sound truck on Miller Road, warning the Foundry workers against going to work where they would be attacked by armed "service" men.

Ford is trying by every means to destroy the confidence of the Ford workers, and to wreck the great morale which was built up as a result of the strike. If he can do this before the NLRB vote, he hopes to be able to defeat the union.

Several union men have been badly beaten since the plant reopened.

But in spite of this campaign, the CIO is now a mighty force inside the River Rouge plants, and will not be so easily destroyed.

The colored workers who fought side by side on the picket line with the white Ford workers, will stick to the union, and bring with them those misled Negroes who are still under the domination of the company.

White and colored, the Ford workers are determined to show by an overwhelming vote for the UAW-CIO in the coming NLRB election that they have built an impregnable union, and to go on from there to a complete victory, a signed contract with Henry Ford.

The Place To Win A Strike

These strikers of the Phelps Dodge Copper Products Corporation, Elizabeth, N. J., have given a flat turn-down to strikebreaking proposals to "return to work pending negotiations." The strikers, members of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO), unanimously rejected a National Mediation Board proposal that they return to work and then negotiate.

General Motors Strike Vote Starts Monday

(Continued from page 1)

them an even greater feeling of power.

In reporting the progress of negotiations — or lack of progress — Reuther told some of the company's answers to the union's proposals. Very interesting was the company's reply to the demand for a union shop: "It would destroy the democracy of the union and reduce the militant spirit." After this obvious hypocrisy was dealt with by the negotiators, the company gave the real reason it feared the union shop:

"The CIO is not only a union with economic meaning, but it is potentially a political force with a program we must fight" was in essence what the GM executives said. In other words, they are afraid the union shop would entrench the union too deeply as a force on the American scene ,and make it too difficult to destroy.

It is clear from this that the issue of the union shop is far different in the mass production industries organized by the CIO, than in the small plants, shops or industries organized by back-door methods by AFL leaders, when company and union agree to check-off, and the workers gain little.

The company was so firm on the union shop point, it told the UAW committee that the union would absolutely have to strike to get it.

WAGE RAISE LIKELY

In fact the only issue on which the company showed any signs of bargaining, was the issue of wages. There will undoubtedly be wage concessions, which the union insists upon in view of rising living costs and the huge profits of the corporation.

In answer to the company's attempt to discourage strike action by means of propaganda about defense, the union has pointed out that only 5% of GM production is working currently on defense. The union has stated it will not strike this 5%.

In answer to the corporation's argument that increased wages would mean inflation, Addes replied with the suggestion that they cut the wages of Charles Wilson, President, who makes about $400,000 a year out of GM, of Donaldson Brown, who rakes in over a million a year in wages and dividends, of Kettering who hauled down two and a half million dollars in wages and bonus and dividends, and the rest of the multi-millionaire board members of the corporation.

All the officers of the International who spoke were forced by circumstances to expose the "patriotic" profiteering of the company and also to attack the governmental attempts to outlaw strikes and force waiting periods on the unions.

THOMAS' RED-BAITING

In the midst of this meeting which was called for the purpose of welding together the workers for the eventuality of a strike, R J. Thomas in his speech injected a barrage of red-baiting. His speech was obviously a forerunner of what he intends to do at the coming UAW convention in July, where he hopes to whip up a red-baiting hysteria, and rid himself of some of the militants in the union who have been making life tough for him.

It is not yet possible to know whether or not a strike is going to develop in General Motors. The locals, representing a total of 78 GM plants and 170,000 workers will undoubtedly vote in favor of strike authorization. It may be that the company will give way sufficiently as a result to avert a strike.

The leadership, in spite of the militant speeches in Flint, will probably prove none too strong at the negotiating table, and will prove subject to the same kind of governmental pressure as induced them to settle the Ford strike without a signed contract.

WORKERS ARE READY

Nevertheless, the spirit of the GM workers runs high. The Ford victory, the steel and coal increases, and the general feeling that now is the time to win concessions, all tend to put considerable pressure upon the International Executive Board.

If a strike ensues, it will come at a time of year usually marked by the curtailment of production. This may prove a handicap to a strike, and serve to give the company some advantage. It would mean a long strike, since current models would have been completed.

But the corporation is trying to pile up a huge inventory of cars, and there is information which points to the fact that full production schedules will be maintained until the end of May. If this is so, the company's strategy to maneuver the union into a show-down fight at the slack time of year, will have failed if the union acts promptly, which there is every sign the workers intend to do.

The GM workers are not inexperienced workers. They have been through the 1937 battles. They know they can win a strike. There are many among them, moreover, who know enough to watch every move of the Board members, and to insist that the workers' demands not be thrown into the waste basket.

In his report of the negotiations Reuther did not mention once two important demands embodied in the contract drawn up at the GM conference in February.

One was the demand for a $25 a week payment to all drafted workers, and the other was the substitution of a 60 day for a six-month seniority clause. Vigilant militants are watching events to see that these two important demands, and all others, are not lost in the shuffle.

The general spirit in Flint indicates that the boys who did it in 1937, are even better prepared to fight to a victory in 1941.

Here's A Labor Dispute For Madame Perkins!

While Madame Secretary of Labor Perkins has been attempting to roost over every labor conflict in the country that she can sit on, a big collective bargaining egg has been laid in her own back yard and is ready for hatching.

A dispatch in the **New York Times**, April 22, tells the whole story, as follows:

WASHINGTON, April 21—Some of Secretary Perkins's employes read her a lecture today on collective bargaining.

Oscar Witmer, president, and Helen Miller, adjustment director, of Labor Department Local No. 12, United Federal Workers of America (Congress of Industrial Organizations), said in a letter to the Secretary of Labor that the union was "shocked" to learn that the Secretary had told the Wage-Hour Division to discontinue the practice of publicizing vacancies and new positions to its employes.

This action, they said, was the third step taken by Secretary Perkins in recent months "in breaking down labor standards for your own employes."

It was asserted that the Secretary had previously, without notice or discussion with employes, closed the cafeteria lunch counter during the morning and afternoon and curtailed the breakfast hour.

The letter said that for eight and one-half months the union had been trying to adjust its grievances with Charles V. McLaughlin, first assistant secretary, but "apparently you gave Mr. McLaughlin authority only to listen to the union and not to negotiate; that is not collective bargaining."

Big Publicity Drive Begun By TWU On Subway Fight

Union Will Take Case to N. Y. Worker-Public

Preparing to take the offensive against the strikebreaking efforts of Mayor La Guardia, the New York Local of the Transport Workers Union (CIO) announced last Saturday that it would carry its fight for renewal of the subway workers' closed shop contract this June to the millions of New York workers, through an extensive publicity campaign involving the circulation of millions of pamphlets, twice weekly radio broadcasts and public meetings.

Union officials made this program public at a demonstration of over 5,000 members of the TWU, employed on the city-owned subway, elevated and street railway systems, before the offices of the New York City Board of Transportation.

The union's projected campaign to win mass support in its forthcoming battle with LaGuardia for the retention of the union rights of the 27,000 subway workers is directly in line with the program of union publicity which THE MILITANT has repeatedly recommended for the past two months. It is a program which, if fully carried out, is certain to bring victory to the union.

ANSWERS BOSS LIES

According to the statements of union officials at the demonstration, the campaign to gain the active support of the millions of wage earners who are the chief users of the subways will begin this week with the public distribution of 1,000,000 pamphlets explaining the union's position in the subway controversy.

During the month of June, preceding the termination of the present closed shop contracts on June 30, the union will distribute each week 2,000,000 copies of literature at subway and elevated entrances and at street car and bus stops.

In addition, arrangements are being made for twice-a-week radio broadcasts and a huge public rally at Madison Square Garden. Regular outdoor mass meetings are to be held in the various sections of the city.

In making these plans public, the speakers at the demonstration scored the misrepresentations which LaGuardia, the Board of Transportation officials and the newspapers have been circulating against the union.

LAGUARDIA'S NEW MOVES

Last week the Board of Transportation made two further moves in its union-busting drive.

It issued a four-page printed circular to the 32,000 employes of the city's transit systems, telling them that they did not have to belong to a union in order to retain their rights and conditions. The circular failed to state that the present union conditions of the subway workers were won by the union and that the workers had the right to belong to a union.

As a gesture to cover up its strikebreaking activities, the Board also announced that it was making some "concessions" to the subway workers in the form of two-week vacations with pay, six days of paid holidays and liberalization of compensation sick leave.

A union spokesman described these "concessions" as "wretched crumbs" to counter the union's demands for increased pay, shorter hours and genuine collective bargaining under a closed shop union contract. It was pointed out further, that the conditions offered by the Board are already supposed to prevail under the present contracts won by the union, or have been demanded for months by the union.

While retention of the present closed shop clause in the agreement is a paramount issue of the coming showdown, LaGuardia has made it clear that his purpose is to destroy any form of collective bargaining on the transit systems.

Seafarers Union Makes Big Gains In War Boom

East Coast Seamen Get Theirs, Unswayed By Bosses' Howls About "National Defense"

Employing militant tactics which take advantage of the increased demand for seamen in the present war boom, the Seafarers International Union, confederate in the Atlantic and Gulf area of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, has wrung important gains from the shipowners in recent weeks. Its wages and working standards by far outstrip conditions obtained by the National Maritime Union, whose Stalinist leaders continue their shady practices.

Most of the coastwise companies under contract with the SIU have granted a $7.50 increase in wages to their crews this month, bringing the average wage to about $15 to $17.50 above the basic pay for seamen a year ago. And last year the SIU had obtained a $10 and $7.50 increases from most of these companies.

NMU wages are about $5 per month below the SIU standard. Both last year as well as this NMU increases have fallen behind those obtained by the SIU; in fact, the NMU got increases only after the SIU had put up the pioneering fight that broke the ground.

EASTERN STEAMSHIP FIGHT

One method by which wage gains are obtained by the SIU can best be illustrated by the case of the Eastern Steamship Company. This company, long a bulwark of reaction among the shipowners on the East Coast, refused to go along with the general $10 and $7.50 increases last year as well as the increases this year, relying upon company stooges on the ships to prevent any action by the crews. But their system broke down this month, when several of the Eastern crews, on the S.S. Robert E. Lee and Madison, decided to "pay off" without formally striking.

The jobs were placed on the board at the Union hiring halls with a question mark. No SIU man would take them. Formal reason given: there were too many good jobs at hand and too much of a shortage of seamen, for anyone to want the Eastern jobs.

At this point, the NMU leaders displayed their "organizing" talents. Long practiced in raids of a shady nature against other bona fide unions, long covetous of the SIU's Eastern control, one of the "organizers," Jack Lawrenson, is reported to have called up the company and offered to man the tied-up ships with NMU crews. Had this little "raid" been attempted there is no doubt that a bloody, inter-union battle would have ensued.

Whether the NMU rank and file would have supported such a scabby move is highly questionable, altough Lawrenson, Curran and Co. are known to have a hand-picked Stalinist "goon squad" for just such purposes.

In any case, the crews stood firm in spite of this news and the company, wishing to avoid prolonged trouble that would interfere with their lucrative business in boom times, quickly came to terms with the SIU, granted the men a $10 monthly increase which together with last year's $5 raise brings their wages on a par with those on all other coastwise companies.

WAR BONUS FIGHT

Perhaps even more important is the SIU action for bonuses for trips to war zones. The SIU has been leading in this field as well. Last year a 25 per cent bonus was prevalent on these runs, which amounted to about $20 a month on an average. The SIU took action last year which resulted in a raise first to 33 1|3 per cent and later to a flat $1 per day bonus. When the SIU established a new bonus rate it amounted to pressure for that same rate on all ships and the companies operating them, including NMU ships.

Two weeks ago, the SIU crews of the Robin Line ships operating to South Africa decided that the time had come to boost war bonus pay again. They argued very correctly that the passage of the Lease-Lend Bill and the increasing hostilities in South East Africa had made that zone far more dangerous. Employing the same method of "paying off," the crew of the S. S. Robin Locksley took the lead and demanded a $50 monthly bonus.

The jobs were put "on the board." The union announced that there were no "takers" for them. The membership supported the crews 100 per cent. At this point the shipowners began the usual hullaballoo about "national defense." The patriotic hysteria was let loose in the press at the Robin Line men. Washington worked overtime to bring pressure on the union, through all available channels.

The SIU men stood their ground, however. The ships did not move. Finally, after a week of negotiating, a government conciliator was rushed to the scene and with the participation of a big shot from the shipowners association, an agreement was drawn up granting the men the demand for the $50 bonus. The unions of the ship's officers, encouraged by this victory, have since followed the lead of their crews with bonus demands of their own and the ships are still being detained amid continuing patriotic ballyhoo with intervention by Roosevelt mentioned as a likelihood by the press.

OTHER SIU GAINS

Aside from the $50 bonus, which is now established for all seamen sailing to Africa and other war zone areas, the SIU obtained also a doubling of the insurance for each seaman, from $2,500 to $5,000 and a clause which reopens the whole question of the bonus in case of the sinking of any American ship or the bombing of any port which the ships reach.

Without any fanfare, the SIU men are leading the way in the fight for better conditions among the seamen in the East, showing remarkable calm and self-possession in spite of the whole machinery of "national defense" propaganda and synthetic patriotism unleashed against them. They intend to be as "patriotic" in defense of their wages and conditions as the shipowners are "patriotic" in defense of their profits. They take a strictly class point of view on "national defense" and refuse to be bulldozed into "sacrifices" which the patriotic shipowners don't even dream of making on their side.

JAMES P. CANNON SPEAKS IN FOUR CITIES

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will speak in Minneapolis, Chicago, Detroit and Buffalo during the next two weeks. His schedule follows:

MINNEAPOLIS: May Day, Thursday, May 1, 8 p. m., at Socialist Workers Party Hall, 919 Marquette Ave.

CHICAGO: Sunday, May 4, 2:30 p. m., at Ashland Auditorium, Room 237, Van Buren & Ashland Ave. Subject: "Strikes And 'National Defense'."

DETROIT: Tuesday, May 6, 8:30 p. m., at Garage Workers Hall, Woodward and Alexandrine Aves. Subject: "Strikes and 'National Defense'."

BUFFALO: Thursday, May 8, 8 p. m. (See next week's MILITANT for address of meeting hall).

Harry Bennett and William Green Are Now Together

Harry Bennett, ex-pug, union-buster and leader of the biggest army of anti-union thugs in the world, has been made an honorary life member of the AFL Musicians Union in Detroit.

Bill Green, kicked out of the Miners Union, is also in the Musicians Union. In view of their teamwork as strikebreakers during the Ford strike, it is expected their new association is the beginning of quite an orchestra.

Subscribe to the "Fourth International"

Big Steel Signs Up!

CIO President Philip Murray and J. L. Perry, president of U. S. Steel's largest unit, Carnegie-Illinois Steel are shown here, in Pittsburgh, as they signed the contract between U. S. Steel and the Steel Workers Organizing Committee which boosted wages 10 cents an hour for the company's 261,000 employes.

May Days Recorded Rising Tide Of Revolt 1915-1918

Europe Saw No May Day Parades In 1915---But Then Came Great Days

By DON DORE

This year, throughout the continent of capitalist Europe, the international workers' holiday, May Day, will be observed only by tiny, isolated groups meeting in deepest secrecy.

There is nothing new in this. During the first half of the last World War, the masters of Europe similarly were able to prevent the masses from celebrating May Day. In 1914 and 1915, after the parties and leaders of the Second (Socialist) International had betrayed the workers of Europe to the imperialist war machines and in each country were supporting the war, the tide of the class struggle had ebbed to its lowest point. Only a handful of socialists in all Europe were not swept away by the wave of national chauvinism that engulfed the warring nations during the first years of the war.

On May Day, 1915, for the first time in 25 years, the marching feet of the workers were not heard in the streets of the industrial cities of Europe. The cowardly and traitorous leaders of the Second International banned the traditional May Day strike and instructed the workers to continue to work on May Day in the interests of "national defense."

But the monstrous repressions of the ruling classes and the betrayals of the "socialist" and "labor" leaders could not subdue the revolutionary will of the European proletariat.

KARL LIEBKNECHT REVIVES THE WORKERS' MAY DAY

It was on May Day, 1916, that Karl Liebknecht, a revolutionary socialist leader and member of the German Reichstag, succeeded in bringing together a huge workers' demonstration in Berlin. Liebknecht was imprisoned for his anti-war declarations and actions.

But within two years his ideas and example had permeated the German masses and led to the revolution which destroyed the German monarchy and helped bring an end to the war.

On May 1, 1916, not a single worker had come out into the streets of St. Petersburg and Moscow to commemorate May Day.

But one year later, May 1, 1917, the streets of every Russian city were choked with the mightiest May Day mass outpouring that the world had ever witnessed up to that time. It was at once a triumphal celebration of the overthrow of Czarism in the February 1917 revolution, and a gathering of forces for the complete overthrow of Russian capitalism which was to come six months later.

Leon Trotsky described that historic May Day in his History of the Russian Revolution:

". . . All the cities of Russia were drowned in meetings and demonstrations. Not only the industrial enterprises, but the state, city and rural public institutions were closed. In Moghilev, the headquarters of the General Staff, the Cavaliers of St. George marched at the head of the procession. The members of the staff — unremoved tzarist generals — marched under May 1 banners. The holiday of proletarian anti-militarism blended with revolution-tinted manifestations of patriotism.

"In both capitals and in the industrial centers the workers dominated the celebration, and amid them the strong nuclei of Bolshevism stood out distinctly with banners, placards, speeches and shouts. Across the immense facade of the Mariinsky Palace, the refuge of the Provisional Government, was stretched a bold red streamer with the words: "Long Live the Third International!" The authorities, not rid of their administrative shyness, could not make up their minds to remove this disagreeable and alarming streamer. Everybody, it seemed, was celebrating. So far as it could the army at the front celebrated. News came of meetings, speeches banners and revolutionary songs in the trenches, and there were responses from the German side."

The May Day celebration of 1918 in Russia included no Tzarist or bourgeois generals. It was the greatest May Day in history. It was the first May Day celebration in a workers' state, the Soviet Union. It was a manifestation of that triumphant seizure of power which ended the war for the Russian workers and peasants and speeded the end of the entire world war.

MAY DAY IN AMERICA DURING THE WAR

May Day, 1917, was marked in the United States by anti-war demonstrations and bitter battles of the marchers with the forces of the government and "patriotic" bosses' gangs.

In 1918, the traditional May Day demonstrations were viciously curbed by the government. In addition, these demonstrations were impeded by the actions of some of the leading American Second Internationalists, who supported the war.

Immediately after the war, in 1919, there occurred one of the largest and most militant May Day demonstrations in American history. The workers stormed the streets of the leading American cities in the hundreds of thousands.

One of the most memorable May Day demonstrations took place that year in Cleveland, Ohio, where over 50,000 workers participated. They were met by a huge concentration of police and specially mobilized armed hoodlums, who succeeded in breaking up the demonstration after they had shot two workers to death and hundreds were beaten and injured. This savage assault upon the Cleveland May Day demonstration of 1919 became a symbol of that "democracy" for which the workers had been told to fight and die.

Today, when reaction has blacked out May Day in so many countries, we need only remember the history of May Day during the last war to understand that the revolutionary spirit and character of May Day can never be destroyed.

That spirit lives on in the vilest hell-holes and prison-camps of fascist Europe, just as it lived through the darkest years of the last war. Even before the last war had ended, the workers of the world could celebrate the victory of the first successful workers' revolution. The end of this war may well witness—it shall witness—the greatest May Day celebration of all, marking the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of the world socialist revolution.

Battle of May Day 1886 Now Won By Inter'l Harvester Workers

The recent militant strike of the International Harvester Company workers successfully established unionism at the company's Chicago McCormick Reaper plant, the plant which is inseparably linked with the historic first May Day of 1886.

Just last week, for the first time in its history, the International Harvester Company had to yield to the organized pressure of the workers, granting a five cents an hour wage boost for 42,000 workers.

After more than five decades, the McCormick workers are beginning to exact historic vengeance for the Haymarket martyrs of 1886.

During the recent Harvester strike, Mrs. Lucy Parsons, 82 years old widow of Albert Parsons, one of the Haymarket martyrs, addressed a mass meeting of the strikers and helped inspire them to continue the battle for which her husband sacrificed his life so long ago.

Thus have the living ideas of Parsons and his brave comrades bridged the gap of more than half a century to arouse the workers of our own time. Not even the hangman's noose could silence their voices.

AFL, CIO Fight Vinson Bill

(Continued from page 1)

creases or union contracts, fail to stop militant labor actions, the administration has made it clear that it will endorse compulsion as a "last resort."

There is a strong likelihood that Roosevelt will allow the Vinson bill to make considerable headway in Congress in order to throw a fright into labor leaders, and then will offer a "compromise" proposal which will embody the principal "cooling off" feature of the present bill but exclude the compulsory clause for the time being. Roosevelt appears to believe he can maneuver the top trade union officials into agreement with such a measure, as a "lesser evil" to the Vinson bill.

The net effect of such a "cooling off" period, whether compulsory or "voluntary," would of course be the same. It would seriously cripple organized labor in the use of its chief bargaining weapon, the strike, and would enable the employers to stall off wage increases and other concessions.

GREEN WHINES

William Green's opposition to the bill was expressed in characteristically cowardly terms.

"The American Federation of Labor has officially adopted a 'no-strike' policy in defense industries," Green wrote to Vinson. "In our efforts to carry out this 'no-strike' policy we have made a wonderful record.

"Do the members of Congress wish to change this situation by creating hatred and enmity in the minds and hearts of labor toward Congress and the government?"

Despite the whining tone of Green's protest, the fact that he has been compelled to take a stand against the bill reflects the tremendous pressure which the AFL rank and file members are putting on the leadership to fight anti-labor legislation.

CIO BLASTS BILL

CIO President Philip Murray last week denounced the Vinson Bill as legislation which "will seriously endanger the future existence of our affiliated unions," in a message addressed to all CIO affiliates and members urging them to protest against passage of the bill.

In a letter to Representative Vinson, Murray condemned the "cooling off" proposal, declaring that it "strikes at the very existence of unions" by subjecting them to "an extended period of governmental interference through mediation and arbitration boards" before they can exercise their right to strike.

Murray has, however, considerably weakened the position of labor on this issue by his failure to oppose or denounce the action of the National Mediation Board, of which he is a member, when it enunciated as one of its guiding rules several weeks ago that it would invoke "cooling off" periods. Murray himself, by lending labor prestige to the Board, is helping to subject the unions to that very "extended period of governmental interference through mediation and arbitration boards," which he so correctly opposes in connection with the Vinson bill.

The chief danger to the unions in the present agitation around the Vinson bill is that Murray and the other top union officials may grasp at a worthless "compromise" involving acceptance of the principle of "cooling off" periods, with the union officials enforcing the procedure rather than the administration taking responsibility for compulsion.

May Day Was First Celebrated In The United States In 1886

May Day began in America, in 1886, since 1890 it has been celebrated as an international workers' holiday. Each year since then workers everywhere have recognized May 1 as a day symbolizing their struggle for their broadest economic and political demands, a day for the expression of the international solidarity of all workers against all bosses, and for renewal of their fight for emancipation from capitalist rule in all lands.

There is scarcely a single day of the year which does not commemorate some memorable event in the history of the working class. The road of proletarian struggle during the past century and a half of capitalism is marked by innumerable blood-stained milestones.

But capitalism, with its recurrent wars and mounting repressions, overlays the memories of past oppressions and conflicts with ever fresh horrors.

In reality, nothing of the workers' past is lost or forgotten, not a single crime of the master class, not one drop of the blood which has been shed for proletarian liberation. Each indignity, sacrifice and moment of struggle continues to live in our memories, not as isolated events, but as part of the fused experiences of the working class. On May Day, above all, we remember and draw fresh inspiration

AMERICAN LABOR IS THE WORLD VANGUARD

This May Day comes in America at the crest of a great and victorious wave of strikes. At the moment when our proletarian brothers in Europe seem crushed by the blows of capitalist war, reaction and fascism, American labor stands forth as an unbowed giant, capable of inspiring and rallying the masses of all nations to hurl themselves in renewed combat against the ruling classes of the earth.

Today the American working class has the privilege of being able to hold high the banner of class struggle and reinvigorate the proletarian ranks of Europe, just as the American workers of the 1880's revived the spirit of the international class struggle after the crushing defeat of the Paris Commune in 1871.

We recall with pride that it was the American working class that gave May Day to the workers of the world.

The first workers' May Day occurred on May 1, 1886. That was the day on which a group of American trade unions, later to form the American Federation of Labor, had determined to strike and demonstrate for the eight hour day.

THE FIRST MAY DAY

On that first May Day, which the bosses as well as the working-class will never forget, workers in every city of the United States downed tools and conducted one of the greatest and most militant strike demonstrations in labor history.

The character of that first May Day struggle has lived on in every May Day since. For this tremendous strike struggle was not limited to purely economic demands. Under the influence of militant socialists of that period, the fight for eight hour day legislation assumed a political character. And it was a battle fought not simply in the legislative chambers, but by masses of workers in the streets.

Chicago became the scene of a tremendous conflict. There the workers of the McCormick Reaper plant had been on strike for three months prior to May Day. 45,000 other Chicago workers struck for the eight hour day on May 1, and stayed out. By May 3, 80,000 workers were out. The Chicago bosses determined to crush this movement in blood. On May 3, the Chicago police opened fire without warning on the McCormick picket line. Four workers were killed, scores injured.

The Chicago workers were infuriated by this deliberate slaughter. The next day they held a gigantic mass meeting in Haymarket Square to protest against the police brutality.

THE HAYMARKET MASSACRE

As the demonstration was breaking up, after a peaceful gathering a great squad of police suddenly charged upon the thinning ranks of the demonstrators. Someone just who has never been disclosed threw a bomb. When the smoke and confusion died away, seven police and four workers lay dead.

While all subsequent evidence indicates that this was the work of a police agent or provocateur the boss class began howling for workers' blood. Almost every labor leader in Chicago was arrested.

The police and courts centered their murderous designs upon eight of the most militant and outstanding labor leaders, August Spies, Albert R. Parsons, George Engels, Adolph Fischer, Louis Lingg, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden and Oscar Neebe.

The police had been unable to find Parsons, but on the day when the trial began, Parsons walked into the courtroom and took his place on the prisoners dock to face death at the side of his comrades.

The trial is a classic in capitalist frameups. The judge openly voiced his class hatred against the defendants and acted with undisguised partiality.

The judge's agent who had picked the jury panel was proved to have stated: "I am managing this case and know what I am about. These fellows are going to be hanged as certain as death . . ."

THEY WERE THE BOLSHEVIKS OF THEIR TIME

The capitalists and their press howled for the lives of these brave workers. They called them "Communards" after the workers of the Paris Commune, the first workers' government in history. "Communard" was the 1886 equivalent of "Bolshevik."

When this farcical trial had dragged its course, seven of the defendants were sentenced to be hanged, and one, Oscar Neebe, was given 15 years imprisonment.

In words of magnificent defiance, Spies declared to the court: "I say, if death is the penalty for proclaiming the truth, then I will proudly and defiantly pay the costly price. Call your hangmen!"

At the last moment, the death sentences of two, Schwab and Fielden, were commuted to life imprisonment. Lingg, to deprive the bosses of the depraved satisfaction they might gain from his hanging, committed suicide by biting a dynamite cap with his teeth. Spies, Parsons, Engels and Fischer were strangled on the gallows, breathing defiance of the ruling class with their last breaths.

The example of the Haymarket martyrs moved the working class profoundly. The American workers began to organize and fight with greater determination than ever.

AN INTERNATIONAL HOLIDAY

In 1889, the convention of the American Federation of Labor again set aside May 1, 1890, as another day of mass strikes and demonstrations for the eight hour day. The International Workingman's Congress of the Second (Socialist) International, inspired by the American example, decreed that May 1, 1890 should be an international workingmen's holiday.

On that first international May Day, the workers of Europe and America gave an unforgettable demonstration of international working-class solidarity. By the millions, the proletariat of the most advanced capitalist countries poured into the streets and fought against the savage military and police repressions which were hurled against them in every land.

Thus May Day was born of the living struggles of the American working class and was baptized in the battles and blood of the international proletariat.

The ruling classes, everywhere have tried to destroy the revolutionary spirit of May Day. And the treacherous leadership of the Second and Third (Stalinist) Internationals have tried to water down the militant tradition and revolutionary character of May Day. The trade union bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor attempted to make of May Day purely an occasion for picnics and outings; and then, in connivance with the bosses and their government, tried to do away with May Day by establishing Labor Day as the "official" labor holiday in September.

But the spirit and character of the real May Day cannot be destroyed. That is what the hangmen of the Haymarket martyrs tried to do after the first May Day in 1886. Today the names of the judge and hangmen are forgotten, while each year, on May Day, millions of workers pay tribute to the memory of the Haymarket martyrs of that first May Day struggle.

On this May Day, in the light of the class battles which the American workers have been waging within recent months, we can better understand the imperishable truth of the last words of August Spies, spoken when the black hangman's mask already covered his face:

"There will be a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today."

Here's The Bottleneck The Boss Press Doesn't Blast

The chart below originally published in the CIO *Economic Outlook*, gives a graphic picture of how a relative handful of big corporations have gobbled down most of the war contracts.

A few giant corporations have back-logs on war orders which will take three and four years to fill. Thousands of small plants, representing a tremendous amount of unused United States industrial capacity, are being ignored by the government.

The net effect of this policy is illustrated by a report of conditions of employment in the Pittsburgh area, a typical industrial area.

An editorial, entitled "Jobs Wanted," published in the Pittsburgh *Post Gazette*, April 16, states:

"The Pittsburgh district has had a great deal of defense work, but not, by far, as much as it can take care of efficiently. There are in Allegheny County alone, according to figures given the Greater Pittsburgh Committee by state employment offices, some 43,000 men and 13,000 women ready to go to work immediately to produce whatever the Government lacks for defense. And the number rises to more than 100,000 available workers in the Pittsburgh area, which comprises 11 counties.

"A delegation of members of the committee and labor leaders is said to be planning to go to Washington for a conference with Donald M. Nelson, chairman of the plant site committee of the Office for Production Management. Perhaps such a visit, calling attention to the reservoir of skilled labor here and the still unused plant facilities of Western Pennsylvania, would help to keep the attention of national production experts focused on this area when further placing of new industry is contemplated."

WASHINGTON FILLED WITH SNARLING JACKALS

Big Business isn't worrying about this side of the "national defense" question. It's out to defend its holdings and profits.

All the *Post Gazette* can think of to change this condition is to bring pressure to bear to get a little more of the war profits gravy flowing into Pittsburgh. And the business class of every other section of the country is thinking in the same terms. Washington has become a jungle of snarling political jackals each trying to snatch more war orders for their own business constituents. This doesn't mean that production will be expedited. It simply means that the sections that howl the most will get a little more, and those that howl least will get still less.

With over 9,000,000 unemployed in this country, and tremendous unused production facilities, the only way the capitalists can think of getting more war production is to divert production from consumers goods to war materials. Less goods for the workers, more goods for the capitalist war machine.

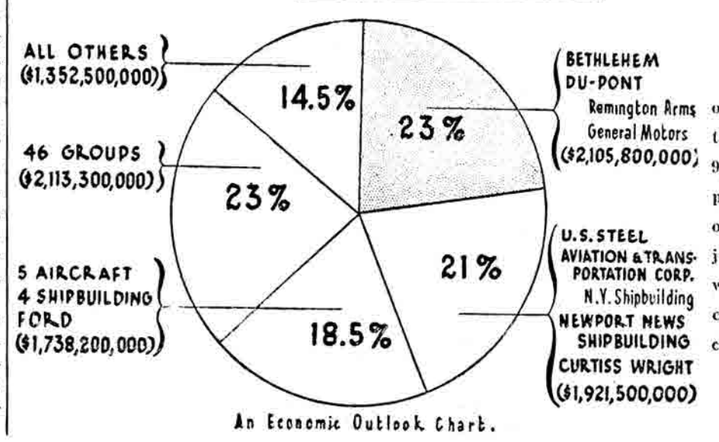
THE WORKERS' WAY TO INCREASE PRODUCTION

There is a way in which production can be stepped up without intensifying the exploitation of labor. There is a way in which production can be increased through the utilization of unused facilities and unemployed labor.

The war industries must be taken away from the war profiteers and put in the hands of the workers. The government must expropriate the war industries and place them under the control and management of the workers.

That is the first step in freeing production from the stranglehold of the profit-hungry wolves of capitalism. It is an essential step in preparing the workers' defenses against fascism, at home as well as abroad.

If the government will not take this step, it is because it is not interested in fighting fascism. It is concerned solely with defending the interests and profits of a handful of owning class parasites.



An Economic Outlook Chart.

This chart shows one reason why there are still over 9,000,000 unemployed. 85% of war orders have gone to just 80 corporations, while much of the country's industrial capacity is not used.

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The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

By ALBERT PARKER

Mass Action Against Jim Crow

The N.A.A.C.P. picket lines "before the gates of industrial plants holding government defense contracts and refusing to hire colored workers," scheduled to be held in 50 key cities on Saturday morning, April 26, with an estimated minimum of 33,000 people participating, is a step to be welcomed and supported.

The business of lobbying and waiting in government chambers hat in hand, and writing to Congressmen and the President, cannot do much toward breaking down the bars of industrial Jim Crowism. Talk is necessary, but it must be supplemented by action. The bosses read letters and telegrams, the government departments meet with committees of 10 or 15 people—but it takes mass demonstrations involving thousands to show them that the Negro workers are not merely asking for their rights, they are DEMANDING them.

It is also gratifying to learn that A. Philip Randolph, head of the Pullman Porters Union, has not only called for a march of 10,000 Negroes on Washington, but is also going ahead with plans to organize it.

Charley Cherokee of the Chicago *Defender* states that Randolph is "quietly" going ahead with his plans for the march. We doubt that "quiet" preparations will actually mobilize the Negro masses into action. What is required is a conference of militant Negro organizations to organize and conduct the affair. We don't doubt that Randolph is seriously interested in making the march a successful turnout of the resentment of the Negro people, but we find it hard to believe that any one man, even one with the support which Randolph undoubtedly has, can by himself carry out the job.

Read Your Own Paper!

Horace Cayton, labor editor of the Pittsburgh *Courier*, this week struck out at those "race leaders" responsible for the Ford situation, "which so nearly spelt the doom for Negroes in the new labor movement." He says: "These 'race men' should be smoked out and made to take a position. There is no middle ground. In Detroit the Negro community, depending for employment on the automobile industry, must determine its attitude toward organized labor — no community organization can be impartial — they are either for or against . . . "

We would suggest that Cayton read the Detroit edition of his paper, and an article from Detroit in the current issue of all its editions, written by John R. Williams, who says: "Both Mr. Marshall (Ford's hatchet man) and Mr. Patterson (UAW organizer), along with thousands of others, have congratulated *The Courier* for its impartial presentation of these issues . . . "

The *Courier* too might have improved the situation which so nearly spelt the doom for Negroes in the new labor movement, if it had been less "impartial." Cayton is right in saying there is no middle ground. If you weren't with the union, then you weren't with the best interests of the Negro workers. The workers needed support, not impartiality.

Negroes and the Mediation Board

The Chicago *Defender*, in commenting on the makeup of the National Mediation Board, deplores the appointment of George Harrison, head of the lily-white Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, who is well known for his anti-Negro bias, and the failure of Roosevelt to appoint a Negro to the Board even though the Negro people constitute one tenth of our population and a much greater proportion of the working class.

"Under the circumstances," say the *Defender*, "Negroes must abandon all hopes of being beneficiaries of impartial judgment, unless the administration cancels the Harrison appointment and substitutes a black man in his place."

This is posing the question incorrectly. Certainly the Negro workers (and the white workers too) should rid themselves of illusions that they will get "impartial judgment" from this Board. They won't get it because there is no such thing. Either you are for the workers, or you are for the bosses.

The appointment of Harrison does serve to show how little Roosevelt considers the interests of the Negro workers. But his recall and the appointment of a Negro on the Board would not change the fundamental fact that the Negro, like the labor representatives, would only serve as fig-leaf covering to the anti-labor, anti-Negro role of the Mediation Board.

Instead of calling for the appointment of a Negro to the Board, the Negro press should join THE MILITANT in calling for the resignation of all the labor representatives from the Board and in telling them that their place is with the workers, Negro and white, on the picket lines.

* * *

Jim Crow Squadron Boycotted

In spite of all efforts to make the Jim Crow Air Corps Squadron at Tuskegee seem appetizing to the Negro people, there has been a definite boycott against the segregated set-up handed down from Washington to quiet the protests about discrimination.

The Associated Negro Press called on the colored newspapers to feature stories about the opportunities that lay in store for young men who want to fly.

The Pittsburgh *Courier* ran an announcement on its editorial page. Mrs. Roosevelt had pictures of herself taken and printed in the Negro press, showing her preparing to go up in a plane with a Negro pilot.

And in spite of this high pressure drive, the ridiculously low figure of applicants permitted into the squadron has still not been filled. Qualified young men don't like a Jim Crow squadron.

The Tragedy of Yugoslavia

Its People Were Ready For Revolution, But Stalin Cut Off Their Hope

By EDWARD BURKHARDT

Yugoslavia is a creation of Versailles. She was pieced together out of the ancient kingdom of the Serbs, the Austrian provinces of Croatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, the independent duchy of Montenegro, and small parts of Southern Hungary and Northern Bulgaria. But what differentiates Yugoslavia from the the other Versailles masterpieces is the fact that the territorial union of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was absolutely justified and progressive, for all of these had in common national characteristics of language and history.

If the country remained poverty-stricken in spite of its great natural resources, if the national question became ever more acute instead of being solved, if economic and cultural progress stopped dead before it even had started, then this was due chiefly to two reasons. One was the development of post-war European capitalism with its generally devasting results. The other was the failure of the European working class to fight its way to final victory, and the subsequent bureaucratization of the Soviet Union.

Yugoslavia's advantageous geographic position at the gate of Eastern Europe proved a double-edged sword, for sooner or later the country was bound to find itself in the path of one or the other imperialist rival. Nevertheless, due to just this key position, a Yugoslav socialist revolution would unquestionably have meant a sovietization of the entire Balkan peninsula and would have checkmated Italian fascism.

Immediately after ratification of the Versailles treaty, a government was formed under the dictatorship of prince-regent Alexander, composed exclusively of representatives and members of the Serbian ruling clique. (The old king Peter I was still alive, but through a conspiracy he was forced to confer the powers of ruler upon his second son Alexander, while the real crown prince, George, was declared insane and a Bolshevik (!) and imprisoned at Nish.)

The first step of this government was to suppress all progressive labor and peasant organizations and to embark upon a crusade against communism which was surpassed by German fascism in nothing but a certain technical refinement of torture methods. This suppresion has continued unabated, if unsuccessful, up to the present day. It is one of the reasons why the Stalinists still enjoy a prestige among the masses quite out of proportion to their actual strength, in the country, despite the general disappointment of the masses in the political development of the Soviet Union.

The Croats, who had waged a long and bloody struggle against the Austrian monarchy and at first had wildly acclaimed their national liberation, were given no share whatsoever in the government of the new state. As a result, the ground was fertile for the development of a Croat nationalist anti-Serbian separatist movement among the Croatian peasants, most of whom were landowners and by far more prosperous than their Serbian brethren. This movement was soon given a reactionary character by its leaders whose methods included collaborating with fascist terrorists. It was led at first by the school teacher, Stephen Raditch.

After the assassination of Raditch in the Belgrade parliament in 1928, which was used as pretext for the introduction of absolute military dictatorship, Vladimir Matchek became the leader of the Croat separatists. Clumsily disguised as a champion of democracy, Matchek took the movement ever closer to fascism. (Which, however, did not prevent the Stalinists from supporting him vociferously in the elections).

At the same time the Serbian ruling class found itself utterly unable to cope with the problems confronting them; and indeed they were insoluble under capitalism. Theirs was one of the richest countries in Europe; but in order to develop it they needed tremendous sums of capital without being able to guarantee immediate profits. There was no industry whatsoever, hardly any railroads, and practically no roads at all. In many parts of Southern Serbia the peasants are still tilling the soil with wooden implements.

At ridiculous prices the British and French purchased a number of half-developed mines, such as Trepca and Bor, and operated and exploited them with their own labor and capital.

The Serbian peasants, who for centuries had fought a war of national liberation against the Turks and against the Austrians, found themselves cheated of the material fruits of their victory. The national independence they had craved was there — but the economic oppression, instead of vanishing, had grown more and more intolerable.

ALL THE FORCES PRESENT FOR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

The traditional pan-Slavic tendencies among the masses, vastly strengthened by the victory of the October revolution in Russia brought about an upsurge of the revolutionary movement. For a while it seemed as if the country was about to follow the Russian example. And indeed, no ruling class would have been able to stem the rising tide of rebellion.

How easy the revolution would have been! The ruling class itself was small and without an established aristocracy. (The founder of the present dynasty was a swineherd in 1865.) Its urgent need for professional experts — no middle class existed — led the rulers to establish free universities in four major cities of the country. But the considerable body of students and graduates is solidly communist. They know, despite the promises of the rulers, that capitalism can provide no future for the country. They have a healthy mistrust of all presumably anti-Soviet propaganda and an unswerving faith in Soviet Russia. (Heretofore they made no distinction between Stalin and the USSR. The latest events will not have remained without consequences: why didn't Stalin save Yugoslavia? they will be asking.

Lacking a native aristocracy or a large layer of the bourgeoisie, the rulers were forced to train young peasants for military leadership. The army schools did this with considerable technical competence and turned out every year a large number of officers without, however, being able to instil in them during the three-year course that base and brutal class instinct which elsewhere characterizes the military hierarchy. Thus Yugoslavia provided the unique spectacle of an army of drafted peasants led by peasants.

REVOLUTION DISCOURAGED BY DEVELOPMENTS IN USSR

With a desperately poverty-stricken peasantry, with a communist student body and professional group, with a peasant officer-body, and with the inspiring example of the Russian peasantry nearby, Yugoslavia was well on the way to revolution in the first years after 1918.

But what the Serb rulers could not do for themselves, Stalin did for them. As each succeeding year after 1923 brought growingly reactionary treatment to the Soviet peasantry, the news seeped out into the Balkans. The Soviet alternative grew ever less attractive to the Serb peasantry. They would not make a revolution to live under Stalin — for thus the revolution appeared to them, understandably enough. They turned away from the Communist International and closed their ears to the idealistic students.

Yet the fear of revolution remained in the rulers. They understood how precarious was their rule.

This is the explanation why the Yugoslav government tried so desperately up to the very last minute to prevent war.

But the rulers knew well that as a class they could not rely upon the army; they feared that in the chaos of total war they might lose control and lose it forever.

When the Nazis finally did strike, the defense of the country from the very outset was hampered and crippled by these very same fears and misgivings. Moreover, the Croats, embittered, probably were none too ready to die. The Balkans, kept divided by the imperialists, had already fallen, piece by piece to Hitler. The bourgeoisie, unwilling and unable to fight fascism, led the country to speedy disaster, while Stalin stood idly by.

Bolivia Fights Standard Oil

Despite Washington's Warning, Bolivia's Masses Will Not Yield

By QUEBRACHO

BUENOS AIRES (By Mail)—Bolivia is the strangest of the republics of South America. Situated in the interior of the continent, it has no outlet to the sea. It lost its seacoast as a result of a war with Chile in 1879, which also meant the loss of large deposits of nitrates found in that locality.

Reduced thus to its inland position, Bolivia has the peculiarity that the major part of its inhabited territory consists of an arid plateau (more than 11,000 feet above sea level) where almost all of its three to four million inhabitants, mainly Indians, are concentrated.

The large tin mines which constitute at present the principal wealth of Bolivia, are found in the highland. That country is the world's second largest producer of tin following the Malay Straits Settlements. Exports of that mineral comprise 70% of Bolivian exports.

But the territory of Bolivia stretches out from the east of the Andes mountains in the declivity of that mountainous chain towards the Atlantic, a zone known as "Oriente boliviano." A petroleum deposit which became the object of great speculation in the years following the first world war of 1914-18 was discovered there. All sorts of concessions passed into the hands of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey which finally had in its power five million acres of oil lands.

STANDARD OIL INCITES AN UNSUCCESSFUL WAR

The Standard Oil Company of Bolivia was organized in 1921 and it began in 1923 to exploit the lands whose rights it had acquired. Those lands consisted of almost virgin territory without the least means of communication. When the wells of Standard Oil began to produce, a grave problem confronted that company: the difficulty of getting the oil out of the country.

A pipe-line across the Andes mountains to trasport it to the Pacific, which would have been the shortest route, was impracticable. There only remained the possibility of constructing it towards Argentina or Paraguay. But moves in that direction didn't bring any results, principally because Dutch Shell, which controlled the Argentine markets, and was in a privileged position there, did not want to have the Standard Oil Company as a competitor.

There only remained one road and Standard Oil chose it: to extend the frontiers of Bolivia towards the Paraguay River, by having that country seize the Chaco territory which was in dispute with the Republic of Paraguay. The war between the two countries which broke out in 1932 lasted 3 years until 1935. Fortuné in arms was unfavorable to Bolivia and the latter had to cede the whole Chaco territory to Paraguay. The new road Standard Oil had searched for was closed.

STANDARD OIL PAYS THE PRICE OF DEFEAT

But the gravest situation for Standard Oil came thereafter. The people of Bolivia began to blame the company for having been the cause of the war which had cost so much in blood and sacrifices and from which came such a shameful defeat. Popular clamor against Standard Oil rose to such a high pitch that the government of Colonel Toro decreed nationalization of the petroleum industry in 1937, which signified the confiscation without indemnity of all the properties and concessions of Standard Oil in Bolivia.

The tremendous petroleum reserves of this country were now to be directly exploited by the Bolivian state which, with that end in mind, organized the Yacimientos Petroliferos Fiscales. This policy was continued vigorously by the government of Lieutenant Colonel Busch which succeeded that of Toro.

Busch who demonstrated sympathies for Nazi-fascism, also clashed in a death battle with the Anglo-Yankee-Bolivian mine companies (Patino, Aramayo and Rothschild) which ended suddenly with his "suicide" at the height of that struggle, just after he had reached an accord for the construction of a pipe-line to the Paraguay River which was to have been installed by Germany in exchange for petroleum.

STANDARD OIL BEGINS A COMEBACK

General Quintanilla, the successor of Busch, did not faithfully follow the latter's footsteps as far as petroleum policy was concerned. During his government, on the contrary, obstacles were placed in the way of the Yacimientos Petroliferos Bolivianos as a step leading to its liquidation and the restoration to Standard Oil of its old properties. The company had not of course ceased for one moment its efforts to reestablish itself in Bolivia.

This is what the company has now tried to do openly under the new government of General Penaranda. On its behalf a group of senators have just raised in Congress the proposal to formally revise the attitude of the government toward the company. The senators point to the advantages of arriving at a satisfactory agreement with the company in order to gain the good will of the United States, and to be able to contract a loan of 10 million pesos, since the Department of State in Washington hinted that an adjustment with Standard Oil is indispensable before a loan would be granted.

In the lengthy discussions which took place in the Senate, a good part of its members spoke out against the maintenance of the Yacimientos Petroliferos Fiscales and in favor of the restitution of Standard Oil's properties and concessions. During many days, while the ministers of General Penoranda participated in the debate and bore the burden of making public the pressure of the Washington State Department in favor of Standard Oil, the sessions of the Bolivian senate held the vigilant attention of the people of Bolivia.

MASS PROTESTS HALT STANDARD OIL'S RETURN

Foreseeing a maneuver tending to reestablish in their country the hated imperialist enterprise, the people poured out into the streets, demanding the maintenance of the Yacimientos Petroliferos Fiscales and protesting against the attitude of the Washington government and any steps which would signify an agreement with Standard Oil. The Chauffeurs Union registered its protest by declaring a strike, while the leftist parties raised their voices in the same sense.

The point was reached where talk was heard that a revolt, utilizing the agitation provoked by the petroleum question, would take place during Easter week.

Confronted by this state of public unrest, President Penoranda was compelled to issue a communique emphatically declaring that the old properties of Standard Oil would not be given back to the company under any conditions, and in case an accord should be reached, it would not be contrary to the interests of Bolivia.

For its part, the Senate definitely decided the following:

1 — To liquidate the question pending with the Standard Oil Company in an honorable fashion, maintaining the prestige and sovereignty of the nation; and 2 — to obtain credits for the development of the Yacimientos Petroliferos Fiscales.

Such has been the episode which in the last few weeks has disturbed Bolivia, a country which has just signed an agreement with the United States for the sale of its tin and is ready to conclude another one for the sale of its wolfram. The result of that episode has been a serious defeat for Standard Oil in spite of the support given to its imperialist policy by the government of the "great democrat" and "good neighbor" Roosevelt.

Nevertheless, that defeat is nothing more than apparent. The decision to welcome private capital for the development of the Yacimientos Petroliferos Fiscales opens a new road whereby the Standard Oil Company may be able to surreptitiously regain that which it formerly possessed.

We expect, however, that the Bolivian people will discover in time the maneuver and be able to hinder it. For the bad name of Rockefeller's company in the highland country is such that a government which has not previously established a bloody dictatorship could only with difficulty defy popular opinion by permitting the reestablishment in Bolivia of Standard Oil.

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The Balkans--- Pawns Of The Great Powers

By JACK WEBER

Bourgeois writers of history, when they spoke unguardedly, and therefore frankly, called the Balkan or Eastern Question "the problem of filling up the vacuum created by the gradual disappearance of the Turkish Empire from Europe." In this manner of posing the "problem" there was not a trace of thought given to the Balkan peoples themselves. Long before Hitler was born, the Concert of Europe — was there ever a more ironic name for it? — moved diplomatically to carve up the Balkans among the great powers.

The first great rivals for the inheritance of the Sick Man of Europe, (so they called the Sultan) were England and Czarist Russia. Russia wanted Constantinople and an outlet to the sea. England wouldn't have minded that so much, except that she already possessed India. Hence she dared not tolerate any power having a hold on the Mediterranean which might dominate her lifeline to India and the Far East.

Each of the great powers was anxious to become the "protector" of the small Balkan nations. The Czar was the first protector and in true gangster fashion exacted his price. But in the Crimean War, England muscled in and took over the protection. Today it is Hitler who shoulders aside England, as well his ally Italy, to become the "protector."

It Was Also Napoleon's Strategy

Hitler is following closely in the footsteps of Napoleon. The latter said: "*Really to conquer England we must make ourselves masters of Egypt.*" By this Napoleon meant breaking the sea route in the Mediterranean that was a matter of life and death to British imperialism.

The first World War was fought over this same issue when Germany attempted to build the strategic Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway. This would have brought the Kaiser close to the Suez Canal. Now Hitler again wishes to use the Balkans as the stepping-stone to Suez. In the last war Germany wished to gain complete domination of Europe in order next to break up the British Empire. Hitler has followed the same formula, thus far with much greater success.

People who do not understand the working of imperialism in the small nations wonder why Hitler was so successful in keeping the Balkan states apart and swallowing them one at a time. In this Hitler merely inherits the "benefits" derived from the intrigues of all the imperialist powrs of Europe. If the Balkan countries had been able to unite in an economic and military Federation, they might have held off all the imperialists. Many a Balkan statesman, even among the bourgeoisie, dreamed of achieving such a union.

Why No Balkan Federation Existed

But every time a move was made in this direction the big powers used every machination to frustrate it. We take a few among innumerable examples. In the first Balkan War, Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria formed a League to gain complete independence from Turkey. They were successful, but at the end of the war Germany stepped in and cleverly set the allies against each other by offering support to Greece and Serbia to seize Macedonia, which was predominantly Bulgarian. This brought on the Second Balkan War of 1912-13. To cap matters Germany attracted Bulgaria to her side in the first World War by then holding out the reward of righting the wrong done her!

In 1923, when the peasant leaders, Stambuliski in Bulgaria and Raditch in Yugoslavia, tried to settle their countries' disputes peacefully and form an alliance, Mussolini found all his plans disturbed. He had a hand, with the army clique of Bulgaria, in bringing about the assassination of Stambuliski through the use of the Macedonian terrorists in his pay.

Thus the history of the Balkans shows nothing more clearly than the impossibility of the Balkan peoples to live their own lives while imperialism is master in Europe. Imperialism reaches down right to the heart of the small countries of Europe. It lays hold of the financial and banking interests which are tied up closely with the interests of the bigger bankers of the capitalist powers. Through its economic domination it also controls the major political parties and the governments set up on the basis of these parties. Often each party is in the pay of a different imperialist power. The only recourse of the native bourgeoisie is to gravitate from the orbit of one of the powers to that of the other. Its bargaining power lies only in the fact that rival imperialists bid against each other for influence.

Only Socialism Can Save the Balkans

It is this interference by powerful outside forces that has made of the Balkans the most unstable section in the world, the powder keg of Europe. Internal stability is unthinkable in small countries where all the complicated lines of diplomacy cross and recross. The Balkans as backward countries under the yoke of a native feudal-capitalist ruling class, could not possibly withstand the enormous pressure exerted from outside. The fierce class struggles in the Balkan countries, unable to culminate in proletarian revolution, have resulted in army and monarchical dictatorships.

Hitler has for the time being seized hold of the Balkans and he will attempt to adjust their economy to suit that of Germany. But that will depend on his ability to force the peasants to work their fields for him, so as to supply the grain and other foods that Germany got previously from the Balkans. But these peasants have for years been accustomed to a Balkan *jacquerie* — peasant warfare. They will now transfer this from a fight against the native oppressors to a fight against Hitler. The Balkan Question will remain. Its only solution is the formation of the Socialist United States of Europe.

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"Reentered as second class matter February 13, 1941 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

PROGRAM FOR TODAY'S FIGHT

1. No union fig-leaves for government strikebreaking. Demand that trade union officials resign from all posts in the government, including the OPM and the National Mediation Board.

2. Organize the picket lines for all-out militant defense against the thuggery of company hoodlums and government cops.

3. Organize Union Defense Guards to protect the picket lines and union halls against 'law and order committees,' and all other anti-labor bands.

4. Call an immediate halt to all acts of hostility between the AFL and CIO which serve the bosses' strikebreaking.

5. Demand the unification of the AFL and CIO on the basis of preserving and extending the industrial form of organization.

6. Independent working class political action. Build an Independent Labor Party.

7. Expropriate the war industries and operate them under workers' control.

Stalin's "Peace" Line

If there is any one idea that the Stalinist leadership is trying to put across, it is that Stalin's foreign policy is one that achieves peace and prevents the spread of war. It is an idea which the Stalinist leaders hope will counteract the bad effects which Stalin's pacts with Hitler and with Japan have had upon the Soviet sympathizers throughout the world. If it were true, then the masses of those countries which obtained peace would indeed be grateful.

To put this idea over, *Pravda*, discussing the Soviet-Japanese pact, hails it as "a new big achievement of the Stalinist foreign policy which steadfastly and consistently fights for peace and against the spread of the war."

But, accepting the premise of *Pravda* that peace is desirable under any and all circumstances, it is obviously easy to prove that Stalin's foreign policy has, at best, achieved peace for the people of the Soviet Union at the expense of war for the peoples of other countries.

Was not the Stalin-Hitler pact followed by Hitler's attack on Poland and therefore acted as a match that helped ignite the European flame?

Mind you, we are not arguing that the Stalin-Hitler pact was the fundamental cause of the war, which we consider a result of basic imperialist rivalries. We simply show what poppycock is the argument that Stalin's foreign policy resulted in peace.

Can it not be argued with far greater effectiveness that if Stalin had not signed the pact, Hitler fearing a war on two fronts, would not have dared launch his attack and thus war would have been avoided altogether?

Again, mind you, we are not arguing that this is true but that it can be used as a conclusive answer to the Stalinist argument.

And does not the Soviet-Japanese pact free Japan so that it can, if it wants to, attack more easily in the Southern Pacific? Of course it does, and thereby, if Japan should attack, the pact would not bring peace but war. Here again it can be argued that, if Stalin had not signed the pact, Japan would not attack and the war would not be extended.

The same thing holds true with reference to Stalin's acts in the Baltic. Had he taken a strong position against Hitler with the intimation that Hitler would have to risk war with the Soviet Union if he dared attack in the Balkans, the attack would not have been made.

The truth of the matter is that Stalin's "pacifism" simply serves to confuse and disorient thousands of advanced workers.

What Stalinist foreign policy actually does is to deliver millions of workers into the clutches of Hitler's and Japan's imperialism, and ties other millions close to the democratic imperialists. And in the end it does not and cannot bring peace to the Soviet Union. It can and does weaken the Soviet Union by antagonizing workers throughout the world.

Hillman's Uses

Representative Taber, like many another employers' man in Congress, has a tendency to go all to pieces at mere thought of a union card. This is often apt to warp his immediate judgment concerning what is in the best interests of his class.

For instance, take his statements last week about Sidney Hillman. "And what is Mr. Hillman's situation?" asked Taber.

"He is at present drawing his salary from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America—$12,500 a year. He is on the payroll of the United States Government for $1 a year. Is it not time that divided allegiance ceased and that if Mr. Hillman is to continue in the employ of the United States Government in a most trusted position that he be paid by the United States Government alone?

"Is it not time," continued Taber, "that Mr. Hillman ceased at the same time that he is joint head of the Office of Production Management to be the head of a labor union, with conflicting duties to each position? Is it not time that those who were called to the service of the United States made that job the first claim upon them?"

What Taber overlooks is that Hillman, divorced from the union movement, isn't worth a red cent in his present government post to the employing class and its government.

Hillman couldn't hold down the job of White House janitor without his union connections. That's the only thing he has to sell to the bosses. That's what he and every other union official who takes a post with the bosses' government have to offer. It is their official union prestige which enables them to perform the useful service to the employers of covering up the fundamentally anti-labor character of the OPM, the National Mediation Board, and all the other government war agencies.

The instinct of the workers impels them to an undivided allegiance to their own class interests, a fact that Taber realizes. After all, he's that way about his own class.

But the spectacle of the Hillmans in government posts confuses the workers as to the completely employer class character of the government.

A union post and a government post involve "conflicting duties," admits Taber; that is, irreconcilable class interests. The union serves the workers; the government serves the owners.

With this premise of Taber's we heartily agree. We too are opposed to divided allegiance. But we do not agree with Taber when he says that union officials should desert their unions for government posts. We contend that union officials should get out of all appointive government posts and remain with their unions.

In addition to becoming a captive of the employers, a union leader in a government post is a peddler of stolen goods. He is taking something that doesn't belong to him alone, the patrimony of the labor movement, and trading it in for a mess of employer-government pottage.

Why Convoys Wait

What's holding up convoys? Why has Roosevelt momentarily paused from taking the next step to lead this nation into war?

Arthur Krock, a leading national political press commentator, writes in last Sunday's *New York Times:*

"... 'Short of War,' the pledge of the campaign, has been abandoned as a phrase. But it is still acting as a brake on policy because the Administration is not certain whether it would dare to take the brake off. Its disposition has been to defer facing that decision as long as possible and pretend there is no future by the simple process of refusing to admit plans for it.

"Thus, *though every detail of American naval escortage of supply ships has been worked out,* the President dismissed every question on the subject and his responsible Congressional spokesmen continue to assert they never hear the subject mentioned in conferences at the White House."

Roosevelt wants to take the next step of naval convoys, all right. "Every detail of American naval escortage ... has been worked out." But he does not "dare" to make the move.

Why? Because the majority of the American people are opposed to it! They understand that convoys will lead to naval clashes and thus to direct military participation in the war. Roosevelt may cynically abandon his "short of war" campaign pledge. But the American masses have bitten into that phrase and are grimly clamping it between their jaws.

The latest Gallup Poll, reported in the *New York Times*, April 20, shows that four out of five Americans oppose sending any part of the American army to help British imperialism. The Gallup results were 79 per cent against, only 17 per cent for. The same overwhelming results, with slight variations, held against sending any part of the air force or navy.

These results are more impressive when it is understood that the Gallup polls are frequently so weighted as to give the edge to the Administration side of a question. It is notable, for instance, that the poll has refused to pose the specific question of convoys—undoubtedly refraining in order not to embarass Roosevelt with the results.

Roosevelt intends to drag this country further into the war. But it is clear that he will do so only by deception and fraud, just as he put over his lease-lend bill by his "short of war" pledge. The war for "democracy" will not be an expression of the democratic will of the American people.

That will, disorganized and poorly expressed as it is, has been powerful enough, nevertheless, to make Roosevelt hold back on his convoy plans.

Why Labor Must Defend Harry Bridges

The official defense of Harry Bridges against deportation for alleged some-time membership in the Communist Party has bogged down to a technical quibble over whether or not the head of the CIO Longshoremen's Union actually ever held a card in the Stalinist party.

We don't know. As far as we are concerned, we take his word for it that he is not, against that of the stool-pigeons who have turned on him. This, to us, is the least issue in the Bridges case.

The main issue is: does or does not the right of free political opinion apply to labor leaders and union men and women? Can Bridges or any other union member belong to the Communist Party — or any other radical party — without being faced with deportation if a non-citizen, or with jail if he is a citizen?

TO DEFEND BRIDGES IS TO DEFEND UNIONISM

In a word, is the government to dictate to the union movement and say only those belonging to parties of the employing class, the Republican and Democratic parties which rule the government, shall lead the unions? If the government can say that a union man may not belong to one party, it can go on to dictate that he may not belong to some other party too. If that principle is permitted to be enforced, then free unionism will be dead.

The defense of Bridges is not the defense of an individual against an unjust accusation. The defense of Bridges is the defense of a principle: the right of the workers to believe in and belong to any organization or political group they see fit.

The Bridges defense cannot rest on the purely technical legalistic ground of non-membership. The government says Bridges is in this country in violation of the Alien Registration Act of 1940. The defense says he is not. We say, it's immaterial. We're concerned with a vicious anti-labor law which is directed at victimizing members of organized labor.

We do not and have never supported Bridges' policies inside the unions. We have attacked his policies just as we have those of Greene, Murray, Lewis, Hillman or Dubinsky. We thought such policies against the interests of the labor movement.

But in this instance, in defending Bridges we are defending the rights of all labor against a vicious law.

Ours is not a purely legalistic stand. But it is a stand that will appeal to all workers and arouse them to the menace against themselves which is involved in the government's action against Bridges.

That does not mean that we are opposed to the legal defense of Bridges. On the contrary, we insist that the government should be compelled to show proof in court for every allegation and that this evidence should be subjected to every question and doubt which can be thrown against it. But this is not enough to save Bridges in a boss government trial, in a boss court, charged with violation of a boss law.

Bridges will not be saved from the persecution of the government inside the bosses court alone. He will be saved only by a powerful mass movement of the workers which can bring such militant pressure to bear on the government that it will drop the Bridges case like a hot potatoe.

Such a mass movement cannot be formed on the basis of a legal quibble and technicalities.

The Bridges defense must be shifted from the always narrow and shifting base of boss legality. It must be placed upon the broad and solid foundation of a fight for fundamental rights and principles.

Stalin's "New" Edition Of Lenin's Works

By OSCAR FISCHER

Stalin, after having finished the Moscow trials, the pact with Hitler, the glorious wars against Poland and Finland, and the assassination of Trotsky, believes it timely to occupy himself once again with Lenin.

The press carries the report that a new edition of the complete works of Lenin is about to be published, comprising forty volumes and containing "about 500 hitherto unknown documents."

At first one is tempted to take this report as a satire. And yet there is more here than a satire. The real purpose of this new edition we can easily understand when we think of the "500 hitherto unknown documents." These documents, of course, must be articles, speeches, and letters of Lenin. And there are no less than "about 500" of them. A very considerable amount. One does not find such a large quantity somewhere in a trouser pocket or in a forgotten drawer; a large archive must have been discovered. But who discovered it? And where?

There are only too many reasons why we can assume that the larger part of the 500 documents — if not all of them — have been "discovered" by the GPU on orders from Stalin. Certainly these 500 documents, hitherto unknown, will offer ample proof that Stalin's policy is indeed "Leninist." The hitherto known — and by Stalin not yet revised — documents of Lenin prove just the opposite: neither the theory of "social fascism," nor the strategy of the "People's Front," neither the Hitler-Stalin pact nor the Stalinist murders can be defended by those works of Lenin which are known so far.

But these "hitherto unknown documents" will radically alter the situation. They will justify and defend all that until now could not be defended in the light of Leninism. Lenin is dead and can neither capitulate nor confess; but his "sifted" works, and particularly the "hitherto unknown 500 documents" will in his stead once again call the opposition directed against Stalin "traitors, spies, and mad dogs" and celebrate Stalin as the father of the people, and perhaps even as the true creator of Leninism. Lenin is being "co-ordinated" — with the Moscow trials, the terrorism of the GPU, and with the Hitler-Stalin pact.

And he is getting a break inasmuch as he is not being dragged for years through the torture chambers of the GPU and forced ultimately to confess before a Vyshinsky. He is being left to sleep peacefully in the walls of the Kremlin and Stalin himself writes what is being expected from him today. Since he can no longer be shot, Lenin must submit to a slight "addition" to his complete works. In this manner he, too, does not escape the Vyshinsky. And slowly but surely Stalin, his GPU, and his theoretical comedians will have completely rewritten the complete works of Lenin.

They already have done that with other documents. The history of the revolution, of the civil war, and of the Bolshevik Party have long been re-written for the sake of the greater glory of Stalin. Even Krupskaya had to rewrite her memoirs of Lenin, or at least submit them for revision. Now it's Lenin's turn. So many "new discoveries" will probably be made that in due time the original work will be all but buried.

So finally Stalin's theoreticians under the control of the GPU are raising the dead Lenin to "Stalin's soaring heights." It was to be expected.

MAY DAY MEETINGS

May Day 1941 sees America's Sixty Families plunging the United States into World War II.

Hear how the workers can end this second imperialist slaughter for profits!

Hear the program of Trotskyism, the revolutionary road to a socialist society!

In New York

Speakers:

ALBERT GOLDMAN
Attorney for Leon Trotsky

ART PREIS
Associate Editor, THE MILITANT

THURSDAY, May 1 8:30 P.M.

Irving Plaza
Irving Place and 15th St.

In Twin Cities

Speaker:

JAMES P. CANNON
National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

THURSDAY, May 1 8:00 P.M.

Socialist Workers Party Hall
919 Marquette Ave., Mpls.

Auspices: Twin City Branches, SWP

Admission: 25 cents

Where We Stand

By Albert Goldman

Why We Defend the Soviet Union

Since many various and contradictory interpretations are being given to the recently signed Soviet-Japanese pact, it offers another opportunity to point out that our defense of the Soviet Union depends neither upon what Stalin does nor upon the significance which we attach to any agreement entered into by the Kremlin murderer.

It will be remembered that when Stalin openly proclaimed to the world in August 1939 that he would henceforth play ball with Hitler rather than with the democratic imperialists, a number of people within the ranks of our own party (who subsequently split away and formed their own organization), decided that they could no longer defend the Soviet Union. By their decision they in effect stated that they were willing to defend the Soviet Union only if Stalin would fight alongside the democracies but would not defend it if Stalin fought on the side of Hitler.

On our part, we insisted that our policy of defending the Soviet Union was based on the existence in that country of those property relations which had been established by the October Revolution and which had not yet been destroyed by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Defending the Soviet Union means defending these property relations, and not Stalin, whose policies we invariably condemned, including his pact with Hitler and his invasion of Finland.

We interpreted the pact and all Stalin's subsequent acts as indicating a fear on his part of being involved in a major conflict, a desire to avoid such a conflict and at the same time to get military-strategic advantages to guard against a future attack on the part of Hitler. The minority in our ranks, as well as the Social-Democrats and most bourgeois democrats, interpreted the pact as evidence of a close partnership between Hitler and Stalin for the purpose of conquering and dividing the world, at least the British Empire. By this time the latter interpretation has become so ridiculous that even the minority which left us has dropped it. (I don't see any references now to the "Moscow-Berlin Axis" in their paper.)

The point that it is essential to make, however, is that it is possible for us to make a mistake in interpreting the causes and the significance of an agreement made by Stalin, without its having any effect on our policy of defending the Soviet Union.

Many questions have, for instance, arisen with reference to the signing of the Soviet Japanese pact. Did Stalin sign the pact because it gives him a free hand against Hitler? That is hardly plausible for the simple reason that he is not foolish enough to trust the Japanese imperialists in case of a war between the Soviet Union and Germany.

Hitler's Pressure Behind Pact With Japan

The most plausible explanation of the pact is that it was entered into under pressure from Hitler. The pact creates the impression that Japan is now ready to send its military and naval forces towards the Malayan Peninsula and the Dutch Indies. Such a move on the part of Japan, or even the threat of such a move, Hitler hopes, will prevent the United States from involving itself too deeply in the war in Europe. It does not seem likely that Japan will make any actual attack in the southern Pacific until it appears that Hitler is fairly certain of winning the war. The pact therefore can be taken as having been signed under the pressure of Hitler, a pressure which became all the greater with his decisive victory in the Balkans.

There are other questions about the pact which are difficult to answer. Does it mean that Stalin has made a deal with the Mikado with reference to China? Will Stalin continue to send aid to the Chinese in their struggle against Japan? The Stalinists are trying hard to create the impression that such aid will continue, but it is hardly probable that a pact between the Soviet Union and Japan should be signed without taking into consideration such an important question.

Pact Is A Blow At China

It is impossible for anyone to be absolutely definite in answering such questions. Marxism offers no key to solving the riddle of Stalin's intentions and purposes at any particular time or in any signing any particular agreement. Whether Stalin will attack Hitler or refrain from attacking him; whether he will help Turkey against Hitler or divide Turkey with Hitler; whether he will cease or continue giving aid to Chiang Kai-shek, are all questions subject to a great deal of speculation. Basing ourselves on all the relevant facts we can indicate the most probable course that Stalin will follow.

Marxism does offer us a method of analyzing the nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the nature of the state over which Stalin has control. Marxism also enables us to predict with certainty that Stalin will be unable to solve the problems confronting the Soviet Union and consequently we can predict with certainty the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy by the Soviet workers.

We do not have to speculate on certain questions involving the Soviet-Japanese pact, just as we did not have to speculate on certain questions involving the Stalin-Hitler pact. We are absolutely certain that the mere signing of the pact is a blow at the Chinese people who are exerting every ounce of energy to expel the Japanese imperialists. We may be wrong in thinking that Stalin will cease sending military aid to China but we are not and cannot be wrong in indicating the adverse effect that the treaty must have upon the struggle of the Chinese people.

And as we have pointed out on innumerable occasions the signing of these pacts reacts against the Soviet Union because the millions of workers and peasants who are not trained to make the distinction between Stalin and the Soviet Union can no longer, by virtue of their resentment at the pacts, be relied on to defend the Soviet Union.

Stalin's politics—domestic as well as foreign—weaken the Soviet Union but thus far have not changed the essential property relations in the Soviet Union. And it is always necessary to remember that we defend only the Soviet Union and not Stalin.